Towards a society based on mutual aid, voluntary cooperation & the liberation of desire

#26/Autumn '90

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Anarchy

A journal of Desire Armed



Collage by Freddie Baer

SPECIAL ANTI-WORK ISSUE!

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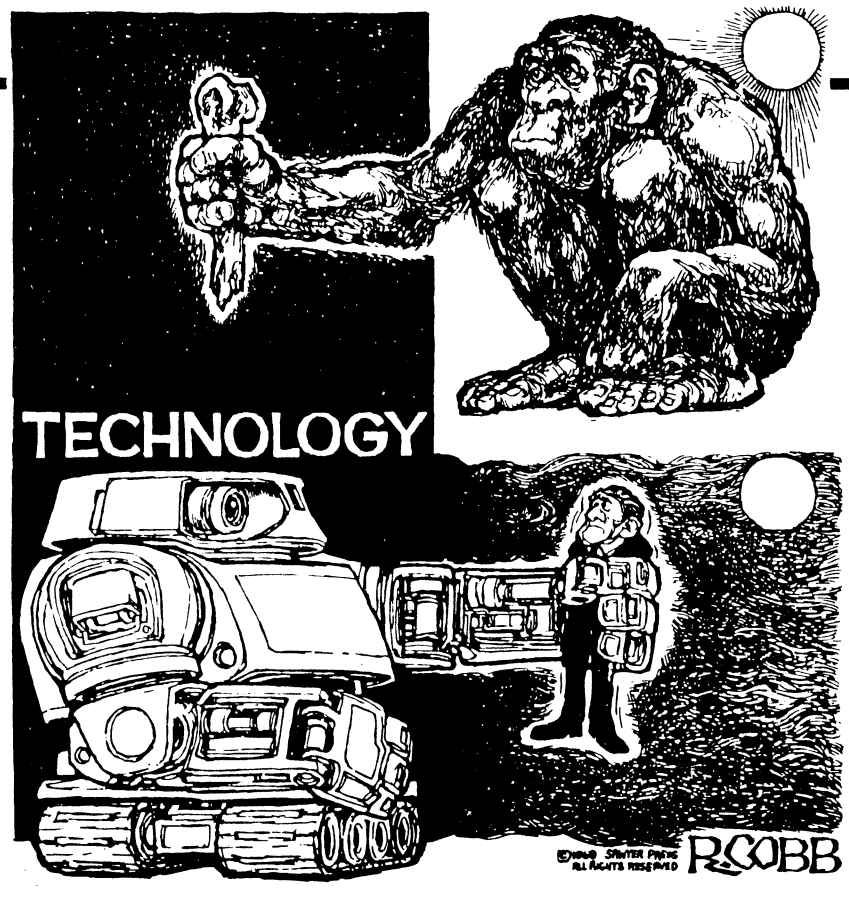
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Openers

Anarchy notes

In this issue

Have you ever wanted to quit your job? Forever? Well, you're not the only one. Welcome to the world of anti-work! Capitalists extol its virtues, syndicalists want to self-manage it, but more and more anarchists are ready to go out and play instead! Starting out with the fifth chapter of Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* on "The decline and fall of work," this special anti-work issue also features Bob Black's "No future for the workplace," Avid Darkly's poem "Venderman" with Mikell Zhan's accompanying photo-essay, bp ummfatik's humorous "Take things from work" and Kevin Keating's biting fiction "The Poor, The Bad, And The Ugly." Along with all this is a good smattering of news from around the world—and especially from Europe, an essay titled "Heidegger's Flower" by B. Edna accompanied by short responses by John Zerzan & myself, followed by our usual assortment of interesting columns and more pages of letters.

North American Anarchist Review

With this issue, we also are publishing the third issue of the **North American Anarchist Review** as an insert. We continue to believe it is important to bring together libertarian publishers and readers in a more coherent and widespread way. However, due to an almost complete lack of support for this new issue—especially in the realm of advertisers—it has been limited to 4 pages, and may very well be the last unless more support is forthcoming for a fourth issue. If you're interested in helping with this effort by contributing to, distributing, or advertising in **NAAR**, please contact us soon.

We need more support!

Despite the appeal in our last issue for a greater level of support for **Anarchy**, we've in fact seen a slowdown in subscriptions and other support during the Summer.

Continued on next page

Mailing codes

For those who are interested in such things, if you received this issue of **Anarchy** by mail, there was likely a short code in the upper right corner of the mailing label. The code key follows:

"(26)" indicates that you are a U.S. subscriber whose subscription will run out with this issue, or that we're exchanging with your publication on a one-for-one basis, or that for some other reason we're sending you a copy of the current issue. Other numbers alone indicate that your subscription will end with that number or already has ended with that number. So, if your mailing code indicates that your subscription has ended with this issue, **now is the time to renew!**

"(P26)" indicates that you are receiving a free prisoner's subscription, but that it will expire with the issue number indicated unless you contact us to let us know that you wish to continue receiving **Anarchy**!

"(S26)" indicates that you paid a little extra to receive your subscription in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"(Z26)" indicates that you paid even more in order to receive your subscription by 1st class mail in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"(L26)" indicates that you are a library/institutional subscriber. And once again, the number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"(F26)" indicates that you are a subscriber living in another country besides the U.S. As usual, the number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"(X)" indicates that we exchange (or at least wish to exchange) with your periodical on a regular (all-for-all) basis, and that you publish in the U.S. If we hear from you, we'll most likely continue sending **Anarchy**. If we don't, sooner or later (probably sooner) we'll stop sending it.

"(X26)" indicates that we are exchanging with you on an issue-for-issue basis, and that you indeed have sent us a copy of your publication since our last issue was mailed out.

"(FX)" indicates that we exchange with your periodical (or wish to) and that you publish outside the U.S. Keep sending us your publication, and most likely we'll keep sending you ours, even if it drives both of us into bankruptcy.

"(M10)" indicates that for one reason or another we're sending you multiple copies of each issue of **Anarchy**--usually in the amount of the number following the "M." You might be a bookstore or distributor. You might just be a good friend or special contributor. If you get a bill with your multiple copies you're probably one of the former. If you don't get billed, consider yourself one of the latter!

"(C26)" indicates that you've been a contributor to **Anarchy** at some point, and we're sending you free subscription ending with the issue number given.

For those whose mailing codes don't make sense by this schema, maybe we marked them wrong, maybe we forgot them, or just maybe you're not who you seem!

ANet/@ Media Net/Anarchist Media Network/@Net/Anarchist Network

is a loosely self-organized, voluntary & international network established to encourage and practice mutual aid, inspiration and support in the conception, production, realization & distribution of anarchist media of all kinds----PRINT, FILM, VIDEO, RADIO, POETICS, MUSIC, COMICS, SOUND RECORDINGS, LIBRARIES & DOCUMENTATION CENTERS, BOOKSTORES & ANARCHIST CENTERS, ETC. Any anarchist-identified project is welcome to join this network by declaring its affiliation (and communicating a version of this notice if possible). No member of the network has any specific obligations to any other members beyond its general adherence to the spirit of this statement as interpreted by that member.

Send an SASE for a copy of our current list of members c/o CAL, POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205.

ANARCHY CONTACT NETWORK

This is a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency. The list will help enable those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links.

If you'd like to see your address added to this listing please write to us, explaining where you stand and why you wish to be listed. Neither "good intentions" nor vague commitments to "anarchism" will any longer be accepted as adequate reasons for inclusion.

(Note: We are only compiling this list, we are not endorsing the positions of those who have asked to be listed.)

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Openers

Anarchy distributors

Anarchy can be found at the following bookshops and stores. We urge you to check out the listings for your area.

Aardvarx
17 N. 10th St.
Columbia, MO. 65201

Salt of the Earth Records
207 S. Ninth St.
Columbia, MO. 65201

@ Collective
POB 29095
New Orleans, LA. 70128

Amok
4005 Sunset Blvd.
L.A., CA. 90029
(interesting mailorder catalog)

Arm the Spirit
Box 475
253 College St.
Toronto, Ontario
M5T 1R5 Canada
(mailorder catalog)

The Black and the Read
Jubilee Community Arts
1538 Laurel Ave.
Knoxville, TN. 37916
(Basement of Laurel Theatre, corner of 16th & Laurel, open 7-11pm Mon.-Fri.)

Blacklist Mailorder
475 Valencia St.
San Francisco, CA. 94103
(mailorder catalog only)

Bob's News & Book-Store
1619 S. Andrews Ave.
Ft. Lauderdale, FL. 33316

Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St.
San Francisco, CA. 94117
(good mailorder catalog also)

City Lights
261 Columbus
San Francisco, CA. 94133

David Effigy
1803 Mission St., #172
Santa Cruz, CA. 95060

Fifth Estate Bookstore
4632 Second Ave.
Detroit, MI.
[hours vary, so call first @ (313) 831-6800]

Hungry Head Books
1241 Willamette St.
Eugene, OR. 97401

Laughing Horse Books
1322 NW 23
Portland, OR. 97201

Left Bank Books
399 North Euclid
St. Louis, MO. 63108

Left Bank Bookstore
92 Pike St.
Seattle, WA. 98101

Left Hand Books & Records
1200 Pearl, Lower Level
Boulder, CO. 80302

Librairie Alternative Bookshop
2035 St. Laurent Blvd.
(2eme étage)
Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3
Canada

Living Batch Bookstore
106 Cornell SE.
Albuquerque, NM.

The Love Garden
936½ Massachusetts
Lawrence, KS. 66044

Memory Hole Bookshop
122 Trinity Place
Syracuse, NY. 13210

Normal's
429 E. 31st Street
Baltimore, MD. 21218

Opening Books
403 Pratt Avenue NE
Huntsville, AL. 35801

The Primal Plunge
107 Brighton Ave.
Allston, MA. 02134

Renaissance Books
3688 Sunnyside Dr.
Riverside, CA. 92516

Revolution Books
38 JFK St.
Cambridge, MA. 02138

Rubyfruit Books
666-4 W. Tennessee St.
Tallahassee, FL. 32304

Saint Mark's Bookshop
12 St. Mark's Pl.
New York, NY. 10003

Salt of the Earth Books
2128 Central Ave. SE.
Albuquerque, NM.

Second Story Books
3322 Greenmount Ave.
Baltimore, MD. 21218

Wooden Shoe Books
112 South 20th St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19103

And outside North America:

Het Fort Van Sjakoo
Jodenbreestraat 24
1011 NK Amsterdam
Netherlands

Anarchy is also handled by the following wholesale distributors:

A Distribution
396 7th St., #2
Jersey City, NJ. 07302

Armadillo & Co., Dist.
928 California Ave.
Venice, CA. 90291

Don Olson Distribution
2645 16th Ave. South
Minneapolis, MN. 55407

Fine Print Dist., Inc.
6448 HWY 290 East, #B104
Austin, TX. 78723

Left Bank Distribution
4142 Brooklyn NE., #201
Seattle, WA. 98105
(these folks also have an extensive mailorder catalog for retail sales).

Redwing Blackbird Distribution
POB 2042
Decatur, GA. 30031-2042

Subterranean Records
POB 2530
Berkeley, CA. 94702
(distributor to record stores)

Tower Magazines
2550 Del Monte St.
West Sacramento, CA. 95691

Ubiquity Distributors, Inc.
607 Degraw St.
Brooklyn, NY. 11217

And outside North America:

AK Distribution
3 Balmoral Place
Stirling FK8 2RD
Scotland
(these folks also have an extensive mailorder catalog for retail sales)

Counter Productions
PO Box 556
London SE5 0RL
England

Inquiries for sales or distribution to:
Anarchy, c/o C.A.L.
POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

Whether this is just a reflection of the hot weather doldrums, or whether it is a true indication of the value most of our readers place on this project is as yet unclear. But what is certain is that this publication will increasingly have to survive on its **own** without the continuous infusions of cash I've worked to provide it with in the past. Changes in my life have taken up any slack which used to exist in my finances, unfortunately. Yet I do hope that there are others who will do what they can to help cover some of the basic expenses involved in publishing this still rather new and expanding magazine. We could especially use contributions from people who'd like to underwrite advertising in other publications which might be likely sources of new subscribers. Any volunteers who could contribute the cost of advertising in their second favorite (after **Anarchy**, of course) publications? I still see no a priori reason why the anarchist press must forever remain sealed off in its own small world. And I'd still like to see **Anarchy** achieve a paid subscription base of 5,000 in the next few years rather than the current 750, and reach for a newsstand circulation of 10,000 rather than the present 1,500 copies per issue. The only ways the vast majority of people will ever even begin to see anarchy as a realistic option for living is for them to come in direct contact with anarchists (hardly likely for most given our small numbers), for them to learn of anarchist activities (more likely, but still not too likely), or for them to run into anarchist literature of one sort or another.

Next issues

Look for our next issue (Winter '90-91) to center on the subject of "Children & Anarchy," while our Spring issue will probably focus on "Women & Anarchy." Beyond that, who knows? Contributions are welcome for these issues, although as always, we cannot guarantee that everything submitted will make it into print.

Sustaining contributors

And once again we want to thank all our current sustaining contributors (as well as those who have sent smaller donations) for their special contributions! These contributions make it possible for us to continue publishing by lessening our financial worries. Our current sustainers include: B.K. of Canoga Park, CA.; B.B. of Numazu-shi, Japan; L.C., T.O., A.H., A.D. & S.H. of Columbia, MO.; G.M. of Yellow Springs, OH.; A.M. of Farmingdale, N.J.; S.H. of Brockport, NY.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; A.G. of Paris, France; L.P. of Detroit, MI.; P.B. of Alexandria, VA.; E.M. of Providence, RI.; L.A. of Chicago, IL.; and S.S. of Lake Orion, MI. Thank you all for your special support! Sustaining contributors to **Anarchy** donate $50 to $100 per year--which includes a First Class subscription.

-Lev Chernyi

The anarchist scene

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

RENAISSANCE BOOKSERVICE (POB 2451, Riverside, CA. 92516) has a new "Libertarian Book Catalog" available, listing pro-capitalist, pro-industrial, anti-communist books like Axel Madsen's *Private Power: Multinational Corporations for the Survival of Our Planet*.

THE BAD BRIGADE (POB 1323, Cambridge, MA. 02238) has produced a cut-&-paste 8-page pamphlet titled "¡ Venceremos!" on the "socialist" fraud of Cuba's dictatorial regime. Must reading for all leftists. Send an SASE for a copy.

THE LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB (339 Lafayette St, Rm. 202, New York, NY. 10012) has ceased its mail order distribution activities and is now working on developing an anarchist educational series in New York City, as well as beginning to publish a series of pamphlets based on both classical and contemporary anarchist writings. The first pamphlet will be a collection of remembrances of Emma Goldman in honor of the 60th anniversary of her death. Membership is $10/year, which includes a free copy of the first pamphlet and following pamphlets at 50% off.

TERMINAL WORDS (POB 590052, San Francisco, CA. 94159-0052) has reminded us that the new edition of its *International Blacklist* contains extensive listings of anarchist (and related) contacts in Eastern Europe, as well as the rest of the world. This edition contains over 5,000 listings covering 200 pages, and is available from Left Bank Distribution (4142 Brooklyn NE, Seattle, WA. 98105) for $10.00 plus postage and handling. (To add your anarchist project or publication to the **Blacklist** write to Terminal Words.)

SOUTH END PRESS (116 Saint Botolph Street, Boston, MA. 02115) is a "collectively managed, non-profit publisher" which has a listing of new titles out for Fall 1990. South End is possibly best known to anarchists as the primary U.S. publisher of books by Noam Chomsky. However, this new listing includes other notable titles like: *Defending the Earth: A Dialogue between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman*, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Eco-Feminist Politics* by Janet Biehl, and *From the Ground Up: Essays on Grassroots and Workplace Democracy* edited by C. George Benello.

BLACK ROSE BOOKS (3981 boulevard St-Laurent 4th Floor, Montréal, Québec H2W 1Y5, Canada) also has a new Fall 1990 booklist out. New titles include *The Life and Work of Karl Polanyi*, *Finding Our Way* by Janet Biehl, *The Writer and Politics* by George Woodcock, *Russian Literature* by Peter Kropotkin and *The Ecology of Freedom* by Murray Bookchin.

ATTACK INTERNATIONAL (BM 6577, London WC1N 3XX, England) has published a new edition of M. Gilliland's radical novel *The Free*, originally published by Hooligan Press, London. The book, with an attractive new cover, is selling for £3.00 plus postage.

BOB BLACK'S LATEST BROADSIDE aimed at the stuffed shirts of "Anarchism" and titled "Syndicalism: Fascism minus the excitement" is available—probably for an SASE—from him at POB 2159, Albany, NY. 12220. I believe it's largely in response to attacks on Black which have recently appeared in the **Discussion Bulletin** (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501).

SHADOW PRESS (POB 20298, New York, NY. 10009) has just published *Squatter Comics* #1, featuring the antics of "Squat Man" & "Sledgehammer Sue." At 20 pages with a full-color cover, it looks like a fine first effort for the publishers of the Lower East Side's own anarchist paper, **The Shadow**. Copies are available for $2.00, plus $1.00 postage & handling.

THE ANTI-ECONOMY LEAGUE (c/o BACAT, 1095 Market St, Suite 210, San Francisco, CA. 94103) has published a new poster which calls the economy "organized crime," and advocates as "a tiny first step" a Wednesday Liberation Movement whose motto is "No economic activities on Wednesdays!"

BAY AREA NEITHER EAST NOR WEST (POB 11255, Berkeley, CA. 94701) is raising funds to help Polish anarchists get a printshop up and running, and to acquire books for their library. $500 would go a long way in Poland. Send contributions to help get the Polish anarchist movement back on its feet after decades of repression!

FOR A SHORT, BUT INTERESTING FIRST-PERSON ACCOUNT of a recent trip to Eastern Europe, you can send 50¢ and an SASE to E.E. (c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446).

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO SABOTAGE? is a 12-page pamphlet published by Black Cat (POB 1737, New York, NY. 10009) giving one side of the story of the demise of Sabotage Books. Send a large SASE for a copy.

If you have announcements concerning anarchist gatherings, new publications, or other anarchist activities or projects which our readers might find of use, you can send them to: Attn. Anarchist Scene, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446.

Anarchy #26

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Anarchy is a quarterly publication of C.A.L. press. We sell no advertising, have no paid staff, and finance this journal entirely through donations, newsstand sales and subscriptions.

Subscriptions are currently:
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$12.00U.S./six issues in Canada or Mexico, & for U.S. subscribers who want to receive their subscriptions in plain envelopes (3rd Class)
$15.00U.S./six issues for our library/institutional rate
$15.00U.S. for First Class subscriptions in plain envelopes in the U.S.
$15.00U.S./six issues for other continents by Surface mail
$30.00U.S./six issues for other continents by Airmail

Back issues are available postpaid for $2.50 for the first one (in the U.S. by 1st Class mail, Airmail to Mexico and Canada, or Surface mail to other continents), $2.00 each for additional copies (2nd to 10th) and $1.00 each for further copies (11th and up). Airmail orders to other continents must include $2.50 extra for **each** copy ordered. Issues #1 & 2 (xeroxed) & #6 to #25 (originals) are now available. Sorry, #3-5 are no longer in print.

PLEASE MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE **C.A.L.** (WE CANNOT ACCEPT CHECKS MADE OUT TO **Anarchy!**) And keep in mind that, if your subscription is by Third-Class mail, YOU MUST SEND US CHANGE OF ADDRESS NOTICES **PROMPTLY** (this means at least 4 weeks before you move!) in order to be assured that you'll receive all your copies. The Post Office does not forward them! And we can't afford to freely send out extra copies.

Please send checks or money orders in U.S. dollars **only**. U.S., Mexican, Canadian or British paper currencies are also acceptable. (If you must make out your check in a foreign currency, add U.S.$5.00 for conversion.) Subscriptions are free to prisoners. Sustaining contributors donate $50.00 to $100.00 per 6 issues. Please address subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to:

ANARCHY
c/o C.A.L., POB 1446
Columbia, MO. 65205-1446
U.S.A.

U.S. subscribers, please allow 90 days for delivery if you are subscribing or ordering back issues at 3rd Class rates; 1st Class allow 30 days. Foreign subscribers, please allow adequate delivery time for Surface rate subscriptions (up to 3 months).

Very rarely we will exchange our mailing list with other publications and projects which we trust. Please notify us when subscribing if you do **not** want your address exchanged.

Bulk copies for resale in North America (at a newsstand price of $2.00) are available at 40% discount for 6 to 19 copies; 50% discount for 20 to 59 copies; 60% discount for 60 to 99 copies; and 66% discount for 100 or more copies. Masthead returns are adequate. (An accelerated discount schedule is available for those who are willing to make whole copy returns: 60% for 40 to 59 copies, and 66% for 60 or more copies.) For bulk orders for resale outside of North America (shipped by surface mail): 20% discount for 6 to 19 copies; 40% discount for 20 or more copies. Overseas Airmail terms: please enquire. (Bulk copies of selected back issues for **free distribution ONLY** [and marked as such!] can generally be obtained for the price of postage and handling by contacting us--we suggest sending about 10-15¢ per copy for 50 to 200 copies for those who live in the U.S. (send a minimum of $5). Currently, a limited number of copies of #19, #20/21 (double issue) & #22 are available.)

For submissions, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, stories, photos, and graphic art if you wish to have them returned. Short news and comment articles which are used in the "The Sad Truth," "Radical News in Review," and "International Anarchist News" may be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features, etc.) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free issues or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation. The deadline for submissions is the first day of the month in which the cover date (season) begins. (E.g. deadline for the next issue will be Dec. 1st.)

Editorial advisory group: A. Hacker, Shagbark Hickory, Toni Otter, Noa, Mikell Zhan, Avid Darkly, Emma Kollwitz (poetry editor) and Lev Chernyi.

Many thanks for typing assistance to D.D. and B.

The views expressed in the articles, graphics, letters, etc. published in **Anarchy** do not necessarily reflect the views of the C.A.L., or those of the editorial staff.

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C.A.L. is a member of **COSMEP** (POB 703, S.F., CA. 94101), the International Association of Independent Publishers.

"The whirligig of time has its revenges."
--B.A.G. Fuller



Shawnee National Forest defenders chase Forest Service authorities away from the Fairview timber sale during their 80 day occupation which began on June 20th, the first major action of the Redwood Summer campaign. *Photo by Orin Langelle.*

Timber Sale Halted in the Shawnee

By Orin Langelle

Earth First!ers, Industrial Workers of the World and anarchists occupied the Shawnee National Forest of southern Illinois and blockaded the Fairview timber sale area since June 20th. On day 80, September 5, of the barricades the 7th U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago issued an injunction and ordered an immediate halt to logging pending judicial review of a lawsuit brought by the Regional Association of Concerned Environmentalists (RACE).

Even though the court contacted the U.S. attorney in East St. Louis, IL, who represents the Forest Service at 9AM on September 5, logging continued throughout the day as armed Forest Service personnel from Illinois, Missouri, Indiana and Ohio allowed the timber industry to continue cutting while members of the press were denied access to document the blatant violation of federal law. An EF! film crew recorded the toppling of trees well into the afternoon and folks present signed affidavits stating that the Forest Service and timber industry disregarded the court injunction. The following day all cutting ceased.

On the previous day six protesters were arrested for trying to stop heavy equipment from entering the area. One demonstrator who was wanted in federal court for allegedly entering a closed area of the forest the week before, turned himself in to authorities with a kryptonite lock around his neck attached to the hand rail of a logging skidder. He was handcuffed by Forest Service Special Agent Phil Kuntz and then had a heat reflective fire shelter blanket draped over his head before the F.S. used an acetylene torch to remove him from the machinery. He sang, "God Bless America" during the proceedings.

People on the scene reported that the Forest Service used excessive and unnecessary force in the arrest of the non-violent civil disobeyers. An independent film producer who spent most of the summer in the encampment, had his video equipment confiscated by authorities and was arrested for "obstructing justice." A thirteen year old woman reportedly had her arm twisted behind her by the F.S. special agents.

Tensions ran high the morning before the arrests. The F.S. had moved in the day before to keep surveillance on the blockade and to support an armed contingent of timber workers who guarded the logging skidder about a half a mile away. At approximately 4AM, EF!ers and others snuck to their cars and turned their lights on the F.S. police while a tape of "The Sex Pistols" blared through the speakers of an EF! school bus. At daybreak the F.S. was treated to breakfast from the Shawnee defenders: dog food in bowls. Ungraciously the F.S. declined nourishment.

Even though six arrests occurred that day, others were unarrested by the intervention of bandanna-masked protestors. The F.S. scurried nervously when they thought one of their trucks was set on fire when, actually, it was only a smoke bomb tossed underneath the vehicle.

Since Day One of the blockade the events of the occupation have bordered on the bizarre with much mirth and rowdiness thrown in. The eco-warriors, who called themselves "The Fairview Freedom Fighters", defiantly questioned authority throughout the summer and set the tone of their behavior on the first weekend as the black flag of anarchy was torched to demonstrate that no symbols or borders would be tolerated. As the black flag was reduced to ashes a Wobbly musician played and sang the Joe Hill song with the famous verse, "You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

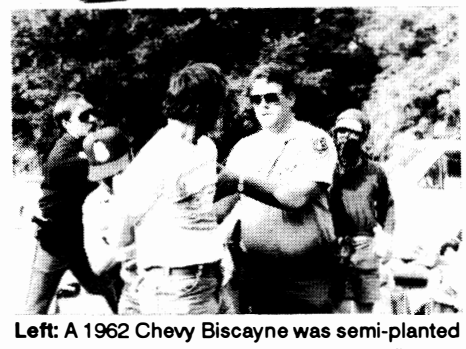
All summer long the Fairview Freedom Fighters brought the forest's message to the people via exercising their rights of free speech whenever possible, media manipulation, unruly visits to every F.S. district ranger station, and even planting a 1962 Chevy Biscayne in the logging road . Though the Forest 'Dis'service was clearly not amused, the local populace's support was overwhelming. Base Camp received money, organic food, water, beer, and resounding local support every day of the occupation. From the use of a pond to home baked bread from octogenarians, contributions furthered the strength of the peoples' occupation against the government and the greed of the timber industry. It must be noted that neither the locals nor the Fairview Freedom Fighters were against the timber workers, and many statements were issued to that effect. What the people of southern Illinois and the eco-defenders are against is government intervention and corporate greed of the timber industry that is being sanctioned by the F.S. as no more than welfare logging. Welfare logging is the practice of the Forest Service to allow below cost logging by the timber industry at the taxpayers' expense. In 1988 the Shawnee showed a deficit of $798,000.

While the timber industry and southern Illinois politicians have spouted that logging helps the people in the Shawnee, they never mention the fact that most of the logging is done by out of state corporations—most notably East Perry Lumber Company from Frohna, MO (reported to be a German run consortium). That consortium is supposedly tied to a chemical company that was linked to the Nazi regime in World War II. When told that all timber nazis must leave the Shawnee during a lobby takeover of the lair of Forest Service Supervisor, Rodney K. Sallee, public relations man, Tom Haggerty, with his usual quick wit and nonsensical decorum replied, "Nazi? I don't even know what a Nazi is." One of the folks present replied, "I hope over 6 million people rise from the dead and inform you."

For the time being, direct action and nonviolent civil disobedience have prevented jack boots and idiots from marching in formation due to the efforts of the Fairview Freedom Fighters.







Left: A 1962 Chevy Biscayne was semi-planted in a logging road (renamed a trail) and flowers were strewn along it to greet the timber industry and prevent cutting of the Shawnee Forest. **Above:** A demonstrator is subdued and handcuffed by special agents of the Forest Service as a masked defender looks on forlornly. **Top:** District ranger Larry Burkhart leaves the Fairview timber sale area of the Shawnee National Forest on Day 63 of an EF!, IWW & anarchist blockade. *Photos by Orin Langelle.*

The Sad Truth

What went wrong with the anarchist convention

or

How to avoid infiltrators, heroes and other diversions

By Eliza

By now, most of you have probably heard a good deal about last year's Without Borders anarchist convention and the ensuing Day of Action. While for the most part I feel that the anarchy convention was a "success," some recurring problems were evident, the majority of which, I honestly believe, were not a result of inherent flaws in anarchism itself, but were rather a result of infiltration, ignorance, and heroism on the part of individuals who are either clueless about what anarchy really means, or else have it as their intentional goal to discredit the anarchist movement. I would like to briefly mention the problematic elements that were prevalent at the convention and the Day of Action, and then go on to show how many of these problems may well have been provoked by people attempting to divide, divert, and discredit the anarchist movement. I will also make some concrete suggestions as to how we can overcome these obstacles in the future.

At the anarchist convention itself, there seemed to be an alarming number of individuals who found it convenient to use "anarchy" as an excuse for completely irresponsible, bigoted behavior. Countless participants were forced to spend much of their time coping with racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes from other "anarchists." Some individuals diverted entire meetings by bickering over minutia; others were altogether disruptive and seemed to put more energy into flaming arguments than accomplishing anything positive. There was also a proliferation of confusing and conflicting information circulating about certain meetings and actions. And of course, there was also the usual annoying presence of Nazi skins, etc.

Much has also been written on the fiasco that the DOA became, apparently a condensed replay of all of the idiotic and embarrassing elements present at the anarchist convention. I should mention that my information here is not firsthand, as I purposefully left the convention previous to the DOA. (I feared that it would become the "Day of Idiocy" it did indeed become.) However, by all reports the "actions" that day were elitist, violent, pseudo-macho, and misguided, and ultimately served to **create** borders between the anarchists and everyday folk by re-enforcing the media image of anarchists as a violent chaotic lunatic fringe.

In light of these present disasters, I feel it is imperative that we focus our attention on the way that these negative elements are attempting to sap our energy—not so we further ghettoize, paralyze, or martyr ourselves—but so that we may proceed with actualizing our desires with the minimum amount of casualties and distractions.

Of all the methods used to penetrate and disembowel the anarchist movement, we must be particularly sensitive to infiltration. Infiltrators, posing as activists (or as interested newcomers) have many specific methods: they spread rumors and provoke splits by inflaming disagreement, they urge divisive or dangerous actions, they sabotage important events, steal resources, and "leak" plans to the media and government. They frequently attempt to divert a group's energy into reformist arenas (Marxism, feminism, socialism, environmentalism, etc.). Most of all, they inspire paranoia and distrust among anarchists by their very presence—whether real or imagined. To protect yourself from infiltrators, be cautious of those at meetings who tend to propose (only) illegal or risky activities, constantly divert a group from its primary foci by harping on peripheral issues, or are disruptive and argumentative. Be aware when you sense this is happening, and don't feed into it. At the anarchist gathering for example, some people chose to leave uncomfortable meetings and form splinter discussion groups with trusted individuals; others were persistent in re-directing the conversation onto an anarchist track. Many anarchists also use pseudonyms and occasionally use disguises. It may also be wise to not disclose a lot of information to new or hesitant participants, and never pressure people to do things that they are uncomfortable with—besides it being unanarchistic, it may push them right over to the police. Finally, if you choose to do actions which are illegal, always consider if the outcome will really help further anarchy; and then, do them alone or with trusted anarchists only. (It is heartening to note that out of the 2200 or so individuals at this year's convention, only 300 attended the DOA. Evidently most individuals were aware of the potential of the "actions" descending into mindless, risky heroics, and wanted nothing to do with that.)

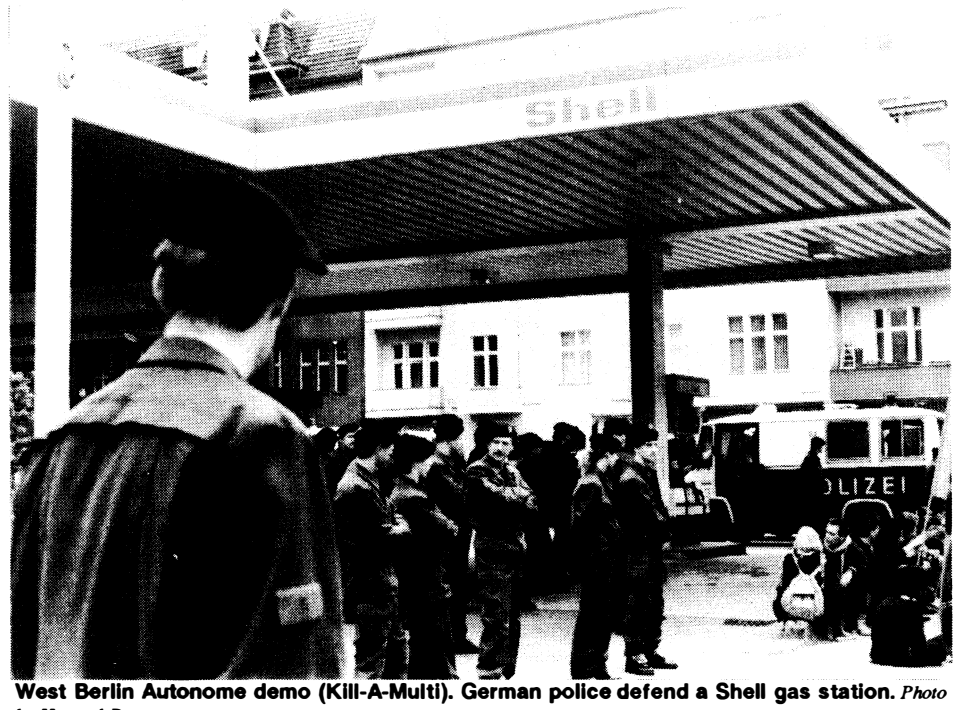
Anarchists are also often subjected to psychological and legal warfare, such as false media stories (we're all well familiar with this one!), bogus publications which discredit the movement, forged correspondence, and threatening letters/phone calls. Other common tactics include: conspicuous surveillance, spreading confusing or disruptive information about meetings and activities, tampering with the mail and telephone service, false arrests, taking our pictures and recording our license plate #'s, and interrogating our friends and family about our activities. To protect yourself as much as possible, always double-check meeting times, information, etc. We're a fairly inbred group; if you're concerned about a suspicious uninvited photographer, vanguardist publication, or whatever, check it out with your friends. Wear disguises when participating in illegal activities, use a pen name (as suggested above), and drive an inconspicuous vehicle (avoid political bumper stickers, especially). Also be aware that the government has the technology to tap all phone calls—including those made from phone booths. Their computers can be programmed to record telephone conversations in which specific words are spoken, such as "anarchist," "bomb," "CIA," etc. Be careful of what you write in letters, especially if you publish anarchist literature or are publicly outspoken about anarchism. Not only does the FBI frequently photocopy envelopes and open mail, but they also have electronic equipment which can read mail **without** even opening it. You may also choose to let your friends and family members know that if the FBI comes to ask them questions about you, they are not legally obligated to tell them anything—unless the interrogation has been court ordered. In *War At Home*, Brian Glick also suggests, "If you anticipate arrest, do not carry address books or any other materials which could help the FBI and police" and, "While the FBI and police are entirely capable of fabricating criminal charges (against you), your non-political law violations make it easier for them to set you up. Be careful with drugs, tax returns, traffic tickets, and so forth. The point is not to get paranoid, but to make a realistic assessment based on your visibility and other relevant circumstances."

While we are protecting ourselves from the malicious efforts of infiltrators, it is crucial that we examine the ways that our own myopia and ignorance can endanger us. The pseudo-heroic antics of the DOA, for example, were probably caused as much by our own shortcomings (however honest our intentions) as by intentionally antagonistic elements. While I firmly believe that "smashing the state" requires dedicated, occasionally violent actions, we must always keep in mind what our long term goal is: a co-operative, free society. To achieve this, our means must be consistent with our intended ends; if our actions intimidate or alienate large numbers of people, or are randomly violent, then they do more to obstruct our goals than further them. Anarchism, to work, must include the willing participation of every living individual—not just an elite group of "radicals."

Above all, anarchy means that we have respect for each other as living beings. This being almost entirely nonexistent in our present society, it is in a very fundamental way just as radical to communicate openly and honestly with another person as it is, say, to glue a bank lock or throw a brick through the window of a federal building. Vanguardist heroics not only make anarchists "look" bad, but in so far as they re-create hierarchical patterns of organization, ideological or religious-like fanaticism, or just disrespect and thoughtlessness, they actually contribute more to **statism** than to anarchism. There are plenty of people out there trying to mislead and disempower the anarchist movement—we don't need to sabotage our own efforts!

Finally, try to use this information to strengthen and empower yourself: be cautious in what you do, but don't allow yourself to become paranoid. Whether or not true anarchy is ever realized, each of us must continue to demand and **live** our own power and freedom. Remember: if you allow yourself to live in fear and disempowerment, then you are doing our oppressors' job for them!

Reprinted from ***No Longer Silent*** *#3 (Black Web, POB 3582, Tucson, AZ. 85722).*



West Berlin Autonome demo (Kill-A-Multi). German police defend a Shell gas station. *Photo by Howard Besser.*

Who's Apathetic?

By Ben Satterfield

The even numbered years inevitably bring politics into my life and always uncomfortably. I have eschewed voting in state elections for a dozen years, and my last presidential ballot was cast for John Anderson. At the time (the year was 1980), conventional voters told me that I had wasted my vote because Anderson didn't have a sliver of a chance. I knew, of course, that my candidate could not win, but the idea of a third party appealed to me, and I wanted Anderson to have enough support to be able to partake in the campaign funding. In this country, the underdog has to be content with the tiniest victories.

But nearly all the votes I've cast in over a quarter century of voting have been "wasted." Everything considered, any vote not cast for the winning candidate is, according to traditional voters, a useless one. Furthermore, in most elections I wasn't voting **for** anyone to begin with, but **against** people I detested. Finally, my gorge convinced me that I could no longer be a party to what is generally a farce and a sham. And a shame.

And it's one the voters are apathetic about.

Now, voters tell me with an air of smugness that I have no right to complain if I don't vote, and I'm utterly bewildered by their murky reasoning—if, indeed, any real thought is involved in mouthing such a platitude. Seems to me that I have every right to complain and the voter has none. I cannot be held at all answerable for the scandals and embarrassments to the nation of the past twenty years: I didn't want any of those people in office and I didn't help put any of them there. However, the voters are culpable, and they're going to have to face up to their responsibility. To be sure, if you "do your duty" by casting a vote, you are in effect condoning and supporting a corrupt and antiquated system that is guaranteed to produce more scoundrels than statesmen. Is this patriotism? Is this civic responsibility? No. It's apathy.

I am, as everyone should know, in the majority. The figures from the national census and voting records indicate that only about half of those eligible to vote ever register, and only about half of those registered bother to vote in any given election. The overwhelming majority—approximately seventy-five percent—do not participate in the system. Are we un-American? Don't we care?

News commentators and columnists invariably cluck and wring their editorial hands at this so-called "voter apathy," a denigrating term that has caught on to the extent that it now replaces thought. But calling the majority apathetic is a mistake: I believe that the non-voting majority is less apathetic than the voting minority, who routinely turn out regardless of the issues—if any—or the quality—if any—of the candidates. The non-voters, if they're like me, aren't apathetic at all; they're fed up, disgusted, and, most of all insulted.

In Texas, where I live, there is no shortage of political buffoons, and watching the legislature in action is like watching monkeys play with fine china. But I shouldn't single out my home state, which is unexceptional in its political tomfoolery. Driving through Louisiana recently, I saw several bumper stickers that wryly proclaimed, "WE'VE GOT THE BEST POLITICIANS MONEY CAN BUY"—a sentiment shared by residents of numerous other states as well. All over America, voters complain incessantly, but they keep putting theives, dullards, and manipulators into office because they're either too insecure to question the system or too lazy to do anything about it.

The system must be changed. Given a choice between Frick and Frack, the intelligent citizen is likely to respond, "Why bother?" **Any** vote is going to be wasted in the mockery of the democratic process that currently exists. Even the League of Women Voters, a truly concerned organization that no one can accuse of apathy, withdrew its sponsorship of the so-called debate between the most recent presidential candidates rather than "participate in the manipulative scenario being dictated by the campaigns." The League, normally moderate and calm, referred to the "debate" as a "contemptible political charade designed by the campaigns to protect the candidates and hoodwink the voters." When the non-partisan League of Women Voters uses such strong language, I think the hoodwinked voting minority should stop spouting comfortable and self-righteous cliches long enough to listen. The 1988 election campaign, according to the League, was "shameful," the result of "a campaign system that more and more seems to do

Continued on page 8

Alternative Media Review

As always, we are happy to exchange publications with other "alternative" periodical publishers. I'll try to list every publication I receive, but please be aware that there are times when this is impossible due to time and space limitations. -Lev

PSYCHEDELIC MONOGRAPHS AND ESSAYS #4/Summer 1989 (Scott Wollman, 1626 N. Wilcox #632, Hollywood, CA. 90028) is a huge, 258-page perfect-bound "cross-disciplinary journal dealing with both historical and contemporary hallucinogenic drug/substance studies in the underground, religious, artistic and the medical/scientific communities." This issue features essays like "The 'seven deadly sins' of media hype considered in light of the MDMA controversy" by Thomas & June Reidlinger, "The breaching of Don Juan's teaching: A twenty year review of Carlos Castaneda's *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*" by Ray Clare, "Meditation and resonance effects" by Philo Stone, "Risk assessment; the FDA and MDMA research" by Rick Doblin, and "Criminalizing the natural" by Timothy Leary. If you're interested in the academic side of psychedelics this is the publication for you. Single issues are $14.00 postpaid.

TELLUS #24/undated (596 Broadway (602), New York, NY. 10012) calls itself "The audio cassette magazine." This issue, titled "FluxTellus," is a 60-minute compilation of 14 short audio pieces by Fluxus artists, including La Monte Young's "Poem for chairs, tables, benches, etc." and George Maciunas' "Solo for lips and tongue (ensemble)." If you're curious enough about the sounds & history of Fluxus, this is the place to find them. However, for those whose tastes rarely run outside the mainstream, this tape may be perceived as only boring noise. Only **you** can say whether this is great stuff or wasted tape. Single issues are available for $8.00. Subscriptions are $40.00/year (6 issues).

FRIGHTEN THE HORSES #1/Spring & #2/Summer '90 (Heat Seeking Publishing, 41 Sutter St #1108, San Francisco, CA. 94104) is an exciting new 48 to 56-page magazine subtitled "a document of the sexual revolution." The editor says he's "looking for fiction that alarms and arouses, non-fiction essays that tell the truth, personal pieces about your struggle to live and love——and he's so far succeeded in finding them. The first issue features "Rachel's box" by Rachel Kaplan, fiction including "Insomnia" by James Bergeron & "Penetration" by Mark Pritchard, and a reprint of Dave Gilden's very worthwhile "Safe *and* sorry; The legacy of AIDS." The second issue features "Baby" by Rachel Kaplan, "S-M is bad" by Marie Antoinette, fiction including "Thrills" by Kim Addonizio and "The Urge Toward Jo" by Marilyn Jaye, and an essay on "Disconnectiong gay phone sex" by David Anger. Each issue also includes wide-ranging "First Amendment" and "Reproductive Rights" news columns. Subscriptions are $14/year (4 issues).

FORCED EXPOSURE #16/undated (POB 9102, Waltham, MA. 02254) is a huge & impressive music zine of 130-pages featuring long interviews with Glenn Branca & Savage Pencil, "Lisa Suckdog tour diary" by Lisa Carver, "The mistress is a harsh mooner" (more on Suckdog) by Brett Kerby, "The history of La Monte Young's Theatre of Eternal Music" by Alan Licht, and pages & pages of record, book & video reviews. Subscriptions are $10\year (4 issues).

MONDO 2000 #2/Summer '90 (POB 10171, Berkeley, CA. 94709) is an incredibly slick & commercialized (& thus entirely uncritical) foray into cyberpunk, cyberspace, andcyberspeak——although editor R.U. Sirius can only trot out a rather pedestrian & thoughtless anti-anti-technology line with his sage advice that "Turning the clock back on modern technology would spell out a death sentence for 90% of the world's population through starvation and disease within a matter of years"! In the opening editorial he seems to delight in my all too true description of the last issue of **Mondo** as "his version of a hyper-hip consumer's wet dream." This issue features "Alternative TV" by Gareth Branwyn, Robert Anton Wilson's version of "A modest proposal," "Being In nothingness" by John Barlow, Howard Rheingold's "Teledildonics" (computer simulated sex, possibly the most pathetic of these articles), and "Cyberspace 1999" by William Bricken, plus lots more. Of special interest is an interview with Mark Pauline of S.R.L. in which he recounts a collaboration with Amsterdam squatters. This publication is extremely well done, if you **really** want to see &/or read something like this——the shape of capital's future...selling simulated life in banal, cramped artificial worlds while the real world is torn to hell. Subscriptions are $24/5 issues (irregular).

ALSO RECEIVED:

Factsheet Five #36 & #37/undated (Gunderloy, 6 Arizona Ave., Rensselaer, NY. 12144-4502) is now 132 pages packed with hundreds of zine, software, book, poetry, pamphlet, comics, video, record and tape reviews. Issue #36 includes an interesting installment of Joe Lane's column, "The fishing hole" (on "hassles in publishing"). Issue #37 includes a "Why publish? Why do anything?" column covering **Maximum RocknRoll** (& the other projects it's spawned), a "Special report on threats to your rights," and an essay titled "Network" by Mark Bloch. If you haven't seen a copy of this "zine of crosscurrents and cross-polination" yet, it's a must. Subscriptions are $3 or 8 IRCs per issue up to five issues, $16 or 40 IRCs/year (6 issues).

Alternative press review

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

Industrial Worker #1526/July, 1527/Sept. & 1528/Oct. '90 (3435 N. Sheffield Ave. Suite 202, Chicago, IL. 60657) is the 8-page newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World——the vestigial remains of a once-powerful, radical union whose apogee preceded WWI. Issue #1526 includes news and information in solidarity with Earth Firstlers Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney——victims of an attempted frame-up by the FBI and Oakland Police after they were injured when their car was bombed. Issue #1528 trumpets "The IWW: The future has never been brighter," despite its currently puny numbership. Subscriptions are $10/year (12 issues).

Assault With Intent to Free #8/April '90 (POB 1484, Oxford, MS. 38655) is a well-done & very readable, 40-page punkzine featuring interviews with Pazuzu, David Hayes of Very Small Records, Dead Silence, & Ultraman, along with show, record & zine reviews. Single issues are $1.50 cash.

Ben Is Dead #9/April '90 (POB 3166, Hollywood, CA. 90028) is a better-than-average, 40-page bimonthly punk-zine carrying the usual array of show & record & band reviews, interviews and ads. Issue #9 includes Steve Gregoropoulos' review of "Suckdog at Al's Bar," "The U.S. Gov. does drugs" by Pete G., and the speculative (but interesting) "It's not an African monkey...It's your fucking lifestyle; An intro to 'AIDS' and the medical world" by Darby. Subscriptions are $10/year (6 issues).

Utne Reader #40/July-Aug. & #41/Sept.-Oct.'90 (Box 1974, Marion, OH. 43305) still claims to reprint "The best of the alternative press," though it only covers the more establishment-oriented, unchallenging side of the "alternative press" in practice. Issue #40 trots out articles in defense of idiot box indoctrination in a section titled "Rethinking TV: Is it time to turn on, tune in, and take charge?" This issue also includes "The other democratic revolution of 1989" (on Brazil and Chile) by Lawrence Weschler, a moderately interesting section titled "Shades of green: Beyond Earth Day" (including several divergent attitudes towards environmentalist change), and a couple pieces on teenage sex by Lynda Barry & Nancy Watzman. Issue #41 is one of the better issues in awhile, focussing on schools (though, as usual, conspicuously avoiding discussion of any too-explicitly *libertarian* alternatives), along with coverage of Project Censored's top stories of 1989, noise pollution, eco-tourism, and articles on censorship & freedom of expression. Subscriptions are $18/year (6 issues).

Artpaper Vol.10,#1/Sept.'90 (2402 University Ave. W., St. Paul, MN. 55114)) is a well-produced, 32-page tabloid covering the arts scene and more from an occasionally radical perspective——with a new cover description of "Art/Community/Cultural Activism." Issue #1 features Michele Wallace's "The problem of the visual in Afro-American culture," and "A long look at the art of George Morrison" by Rob Silberman. Subscriptions are $20/year (10 issues).

Gnosis #17/Fall '90 (POB 14217, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a fairly slick, 80-page journal of "the Western Inner Traditions" edited by Jay Kinney. This issue focusses on "Sex & spirituality" (though not as antitheses, as they are usually conceived), including articles like "A season with Aphrodite" by Judy Harrow, "The cosmic pulse; Where sex and spirit meet" (on Wilhelm Reich) by Nina Silver, Timothy O'Neill's "A fire in the shadows; The roots and aims of modern magickal sexuality," and Louis Melman's "Coitus reservatus & mystical sex." Subscriptions are $15.00/year (4 issues).

ApaEros #29 (John & Kathe Burt, 960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, OR. 97333) is a fun-to-read, 32-page "unedited reader-written forum about sex, erotica and relationships of all kinds: het, lesbian, gay, bi." Issue #29 includes Deborah Ryder's "Introduction to sado-masochism," episode 22 of Pat Underhill's "Sensuous ground," "Rio Sombre" by G.R. Gross, and "Soliloquies: Four women remembering the first time." This a.p.a. is always worth checking out. Subscriptions are $2/issue, but you must also send an age statement.

Sound Choice #15/Summer '90 (POB 1251, Ojai, CA. 93023) is a good, 96-page magazines to check out if you're interested in "a carefully organized multi-genre collection of hundreds of reviews of incredible music and audio art that you won't read about in glossy-covered corporate propaganda music magazines." This issue includes an extensive listing of "Mail order catalogs," part 2 of a "World music resource guide," interviews with Ian Mackaye of Fugazi & G.G. Allin, Genesis P-Orridge, Tom Headbanger of Temple Ov Psychic Youth, along with an interesting review of Boradsky & Treadway's *Super 8 in the Video Age*. Subscriptions are $10/4 issues.

Maximum RocknRoll #89/Oct.'90 (POB 288, Berkeley, CA. 94701) remains the premier punk zine with its 128-pages of coverage. This issue includes tons of letters, lots of columns (I always check out Lawrence Livermore's, & once again he's in good form, as is Tim Yo Mama, in this issue), news reports on American racism & Iraq, scene reports (from Italy, Holland, France, Mexico, Canada, the U.S. & Australia), and an incredible number of band interviews (with Strikeout, Monsula, Apocalypse, the Offspring, the Glee Club, Subvert, Haywire, Sanity Assasins, Cornflakes, and more!), along with the usual large selection of record, tape and zine reviews. This is always the zine to get for anyone interested in the current state of the punk scene. Amazingly comprehensive & up-to-date coverage. Subscriptions are $15/6 issues.

Alternative Press Index Vol.22,#2/April-June '90 (POB 33109, Baltimore, MD. 21218) is a 130-page quarterly, library-style index to a wide range of alternative and radical periodicals, including anarchic publications like the **Fifth Estate**, **Kick It Over**, **Open Road**, **Our Generation**, and **Social Anarchism**, along with **Anarchy**. (However, the editors have refused to index **The Match!**, despite the fact that this publication has been publishing longer than most of the other @ publications listed and well deserves to be listed.) Subscriptions are $30/year (4 issues) for individuals & movement groups.

Street unnumbered/undated (POB 441019, Somerville, MA. 02144) is an impressively-done 74-page magazine for street-people. This issue's high point is the phoney "Sony Thoughtman" advertisement——you've got to see it to appreciate it! This issue also includes "Disinformation" news shorts, "The two faces of NORML" by Caren Bohan & Tim Harris, and a reprint of Kevin Keating's story "The Man in the Box" (from **Anarchy**). Subscriptions are $20.00/year (? issues).

Bad Haircut #2/1989 (POB 6631, Kent, WA. 98064) is a thick compendium of alternative poetry, fiction, essays and graphic art oriented around the peace movement. This issue features an interview with Noam Chomsky on "Terrorism: The politics of language," & a short story titled "Origins" by David Lunde. Subscriptions are $14.00/year (? issues).

Gauntlet #1/1990 (Barry Hoffman, 309 Powell Rd., Springfield, PA. 19064) claims to be the "first mass-appeal, consumer magazine on censorship," and the first issue certainly succeeds in putting a lot of talent togther for the attempt. At 112 pages, this magazine has plenty of space to show off contributions like "There's more than one way to burn a book" by Ray Bradbury, "Behind the Wildmon wall" by Shannon Riley, "An 'open' meeting at the Wirral Christian Centre" by Ramsey Campbell, "*Crucifax:* The missing chapter" by Ray Garton, "Nackles: A censored teleplay" by Harlan Ellison, and "The choking grip" by Isaac Asimov, among many, many others. Subscriptions are $8.95/year (1 issue) or $15.00/2 years (2 issues).

OTHER SMALL PUBLICATIONS:

Small Press Review #210-211/July-Aug.[Double issue] & #212/Sept.'90 (POB 100, Paradise, CA. 95967) is a well-done, 16 to 24-page publication which concentrates on reviewing new small press poetry and fiction. Issue #210-211 is an interesting special "Small Press Retrospective Issue." Subscriptions have increased to $20/year (12 issues).

Prison News Service/The Marionette #25[& #49]/May-June & #26[50]/Sept.-Oct.'90 (POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4) is a combined, 8 to 12-page tabloid. Issue #25 includes articles on the Mohawk resistance at Oka, Québec, and the May car-bombing of Earth Firstler's Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney. Issue #26 includes a piece on "Hostages at home——Resistance conspiracy case" by Bill Dunne. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

New Options #68/June 25 & #69/July 30,'90 (POB 19324, Washington, DC. 20036) continues with its 8-page newsletter format to present a Pollyanna synthesis of New Age, green, and "postliberal" perspectives. Issue #68 features an essay titled "Multiculturalism will make us whole." Issue #69 is one of the better issues with a story on "Nicaragua: The mourning after" which attempts to take leftist cheerleaders to task——though in doing so also reveals in the process the incredibly huge blind spots inherent in Polyanna-vision. Subscriptions are still $25/year (11 issues).

The American Rationalist Vol.35,#3/Sept.-Oct.'90 (POB 994, St. Louis, MO. 63188) is a 16-page magazine which bills itself as "The alternative to religious superstition." Issue #3 includes "Scientists' think-tanks on God" by C Hubbell and "On proving that God does not exist" by Gordon Stein. Subscriptions are $6/year (6 issues).

Arm The Spirit #2/July '90 (Box 475, 253 College St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1R5 Canada) is a 4-page newsletter of an "autonomous" information collective "focussing on militant and revolutionary struggles." Issue #2 includes an important explanatory chronology of the Mohawk occupation of disputed land at Oka, Québec. Subscriptions are $8/10 issues.

The New Catalyst #18/Summer '90 (POB 99, Lillooet, B.C. V0K 1V0 Canada) is now a free, 16-page "bioregional" tabloid, newly affiliated with New Society Publishers——the leftist/pacifist publishing house which grew out of the now-disbanded Movement for a New Society. This issue focusses on the battle to "Save Georgia Strait" off the coast of British Columbia. Subscriptions to this paper are included in subscriptions to "The New Catalyst Bioregional Series" of books at $16/year (2 books).

The Voluntaryist #44/June & #45/Aug.'90 (POB 1275, Gramling, SC. 29348) is an 8-page right-wing "libertarian" newsletter. Issue #44 includes "War making and state making as organized crime" by Charles Tilly. Issue #45 includes an interesting essay titled "Voluntaryism and the English language" by the editor Carl Watner. Subscriptions are $15/year (6 issues).

Crooked Roads #2/Feb. & #3/Aug.'90 (POB 32631, Kansas City, MO. 64111) is a nicely-produced, 20 to 30-page publication with an eclectic content. issue #2 features "An interview with Alfred Kisubi (mostly on poetry), "Granny's Story" by Carl Bettis, and "Boycott cop culture" by Hakim Bey. issue #3 features several pieces of fiction including part 2 of "Granny's Story" by Carl Bettis, and "Bobbie" by Sharon Eiker. Subscriptions are $5/year (3 issues).

The Nuclear Resister #72-73/Sept.'90[Double issue] (POB 43383, Tucson, AZ. 85733) is a 16-page tabloid providing comprehensive coverage of arrests for anti-nuclear civil resistance in the U.S. and Canada. This issue also contains information on "The militarization of the academic community." Subscriptions are now $18/year (10 issues).

Reclaiming Newsletter #40/Fall '90 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114) is a 36-page pagan newsletter "working to unify spirit and politics." This issue features Starhawk's "A seed can survive in the dark, but a sprout needs light to grow: Reflections on the state of the craft" (on the "need" for a paid pagan bureaucracy like that of the "Catholic Church") among other things). Subscriptions are $8-$25/year (4 issues).

Ratatosk unnumbered/undated (Liz Henry, 707 West 21st St., Austin, TX. 78705) is a 12-page zine of poetry and comics. This issue includes "Artifice" by Andrew Willoughby, "Gaps" by Elizabeth Henry, and comics by Roy Tompkins. Send a large SASE for a copy. The editor says she is looking for submissions.

Mole #2/Spring '90 (POB 5490, Winter Park, FL. 32793-5490) is a 38-page zine featuring articles like "The waste is a terrible thing to mind," and "Voodoo: Haitian art vs. American myth," along with pieces of short fiction, record reviews and an interview with the Laughing Hyenas. Single copies are $2.00 postpaid.

Fever Jar Razor Blade [one-shot?] (POB 5490, Winter Park, FL. 32793-5490) is a 16-page zine of short-short essays with titles like "Advertising," "Anarchist," & "Apathy." Single copies are $1.00 postpaid

ALSO RECEIVED:

Fnord! #3/undated (Paul Leonard, POB 993, St. Charles, IL. 60174) is a 44-page "revolting miasma of unrelieved perversion and disease." This last issue is an 8-page description of "The rise and fall of **Fnord magazine**" (in which he tells of his disillusioning experiences with his collaborators) by Paul Leonard. Send an SASE for a copy.

Nexus Vol.24,#18/July '89 (Private Bag 3059, Hamilton, New Zealand) is a 24-page weekly student tabloid. This issue focusses on "Sex, Politics and Religion," with articles like "Anarchism and the real world," "No more cops," and "Christianity and patriarchy." Subscriptions are $17/year.

Rubber Puppy #3/undated (2309-D Pruett, Austin, TX. 78703-4349) is a small, 24-page zine featuring a short, short story "Jin" by Leo Obrst, and a table/grid explaining "How **you** can expect to be treated by the cops"! Send a contribution for a sample.

Blackworld Vol.XXI,#1/Feb. & #2/March '90 (SUNY, Stony Brook, NY.) is a 28-page, State Univ. of N.Y. black student publication. These issues include interesting articles on the horror of the Mozambique National Resistance by Sean Joe & Dwayne Andrews, and "Crisis time looms for rap music" by Dwayne Andrews. Send a contribution for a sample.

New Indicator Vol.15,#8/Jan. 17, #9/Feb. 1, #10/Feb. 14, #11/Feb. 28, #12/Mar. 14, #13/Apr. 18, #14/May & #15/Summer '90 (Student Co-op Center, U.C. San Diego, B-203, La Jolla, CA. 92093) is a 4 to 8-page leftist student tabloid. Issue #9 includes an interesting article on "Drugs, terrorism and the CIA". Issue #10 has an article on "Sandinistas leading; Despite U.S. efforts to manipulate Nicaraguan elections"! Issue #12 features an article on "U.C.S.D. Co-ops stand up for student rights" (concerning the continuing attempts by the U.C.S.D. administration to shut down all autonomous student co-ops), and a couple reprints from **The Alarm**——"Anarchism and 'the left'" by Keith Preston, & "Anarchist economics." Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Skeleton Quarterly #10/April '89 (c/o Raining House, POB 1452, Santa Cruz, CA. 95061) is the small-format, 40-page collage-zine of the band Raining House. Send a 45¢ SASE for a sample copy.

New World Rising #12/Spring & #13/Summer '90 (Box 33, 77 Ives St., Providence, RI. 02906) is a virtually unreadable (at least for me!) collection of writings, graphics, rants, letters and messages (the producers say, "selected almost randomly" from contributions) apparently meant for distribution through the subterranean Grateful Dead network. Send an SASE for a free sample.

MSRRT Newsletter Vol.3,#3/April '90 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) is the newsletter of the Minnesota Social Responsibilities Round Table. Send a 45¢ SASE for a sample.

News and Notes from all Over unnumbered/Summer '89, Winter '89-Spring '90 & Summer '90 (Box 10491, Oakland, CA. 94610) is the nicely-done, 6-page, photocopied newsletter for the Society for the Eradication of Television (S.E.T.). The Winter-Spring issue features reprints of Dear Abby columns attacking S.E.T. And with the Summer '90 issue the name of the newsletter is being changed to **S.E.T. Free**——the name of the original newsletter which used to be published by Mary Dixon, founder of S.E.T. Subscriptions are $5/10 issues.

Free Press Network Vol.8,#5/Nov.-Dec.'89 (F.P.A., POB 15548, Columbus, OH. 43215) is the 8-page newsletter of the Free Press Association. This issue starts off with an article titled "Media fails to 'question authority'" which has earned this organization more of my respect. Recommended for all journalists interested in press freedom. Subscriptions are $20/year (6 issues).

Beatrix #1/undated (POB 135, Schenectady, NY. 12301) is a 16-page "scumrock" zine. Single copies are 50¢.

11th Hour #1/1990 (c/o Ann Arbor Tenants Union, 4001 Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI. 48109) is a 16-page "Midwest Housing Newsletter." This issue features a story on "Statewide coalitions." Subscriptions are $15/year.

Tenant Inquirer #7/Feb.-March '90 (M.T.U., 1513 East Franklin, Mpls., MN. 55404) is a 12-page tabloid produced by the Minnesota Tenants Union. Subscriptions are #15/year.

Wrenching Debate Gazette #9/Mar.'90 (Wrench Square, 14 Lincoln Ave. #3, Somerville, MA. 02145) is a 12-page environmentalist newsletter. This issue focuses on the "disemboweling" of "Clean Air" bills through the "Clean Air Act." Send an SASE for a sample.

The Weedeater #3/Oct.'89 (U.S.F., #3146, Tampa, FL. 33620-3146) is half poetry zine & half reprints from other radical zines. Subscriptions are $6-10/year (irregular).

Dumpster Times #4/Jan. & #5/April '90 (W.S.D., POB 80044, Akron, OH. 44308) is an eclectic 20-page zine. Issue #4 is the "Post-Modern Death issue," while #5 is titled "Art or Propaganda?" (concerned with the "Art Strike"). Send $1.00 or equivalent for a sample copy.

Earth First! EXTRA unnumbered/undated (POB 210, Canyon, CA. 94516) is a special 4-page tabloid advertising "Redwood Summer" and giving some details and responses to the recent car-bombing/attempted murder of Redwood Summer organizers Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney in Oakland. Send an SASE for a copy.

Crooked Smile-Cracked Lips #1?/undated (Claire, 16339 Steuber Airline #205, Spring, TX. 77379) is a dark &

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Alternative Media Review

Anarchist press review

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

PROFANE EXISTENCE #5/Aug.-Sept. & #6/ Oct.-Nov.'90 (POB 8722, Mpls, MN. 55408) is an impressive 40-page anarchist fanzine with lots of juicy letters, columns, international news, scene reports, and record & zine reviews. Issue #5 includes band interviews (with Pollution Circus, Holocaust, & Cringer), zine interviews (with **Hippycore & Punchline Magazine**), along with a brief account of "The Haymarket tragedy" by Felix, and part three of "Take back your life: A wimmin's guide to alternative health care" (on menstruation) by Alicia non Grata. Issue #6 includes a good letter criticizing syndicalism by Bob Black, band interviews (with Conflict, Sins of the Flesh, Kismet Hardcore, Disrupt, & Corrupted Ideals), zine interviews (with **Someplace Like Earth** & **Assault With Intent to be Free**), along with Professor Felix on "Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman," and "Adventures in Poll Tax land" (reprinted from *Poll Tax Riot*. **P.E.** is going monthly with its next issue. Subscriptions are $18/year (12 issues).

BLACK FLAG #196/Jan., #197/Mar., #198/ May & #199/July '90 (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an 8-page, bimonthly anarcho-syndicalist newspaper--now subtitled "For Anarchist Resistance." Issue #196 includes articles titled "Hope in sight for Foran" (anarchist prisoner in England), and "The GARI and the last of Franco" (on an aspect of the history of the Spanish movement). Issue #197 includes a story on the "Greek youth uprising," along with Australian, Russian and other Eastern European news. Issue #198 is "dedicated to the memory of Leo Rosser" who we will also miss after meeting him in Chicago (in '86) and hosting his visit here in Columbia. This issue features a big story on the "Poll tax—refuse and resist," "Bulgaria reawakens," "A short history of the Greek resistance," and "Life of Francisco Ferrer." Issue #199 features a story on the recent murder of the Russian anarcho-syndicalist activist Piotr Siuda (probably by the KGB), and an article on "Anarchists in the Second World War." Subscriptions are £10/-year (12 issues).

A unnumbered/undated (POB 1425, NYC, NY. 10009) is an interesting 18-page, photocopied zine carrying international Neither East Nor West reports. This issue includes "Yugoslavia: A few words of advice to U.S. investors, congressmen and leftists" by Ivo, "News from Poland" from the Polish Anarchist Federation, a "Resolution of the National Congress of the Federation of the Anarchists in Bulgaria," and news from the Soviet Union. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

NORTH COUNTRY ANVIL #58/Summer '89 (Box 37, Millville, MN.55957) was the last issue of this thoughtful—though fairly conservative —52-page anarchist magazine covering primarily rural issues and resistance. Always well-produced, never strident or obnoxious, this magazine deserved a greater audience and more support than it apparently received. This issue features "Wally and Juanita Nelson: Resistance and 'right livelihood'" by Eveline MacDougall, "Simplicity and children" by Kathleen Plunkett-Black, "Building Earthward" by John & Edith Rylander (on the construction of their earth-contact home), "Honoring Woody Guthrie" by Bob Stuber, "The factory and the soul" by Juli Wiley, along with pages of reports and reviews. This issue and many other back issues are still available for $3.00 each.

ALSO RECEIVED:

Love and Rage/Amor y Rabia #4/July & #5/ Aug.'90 (Box 3, Prince St. Station, New York, NY. 10012) is a fairly new & controversial 16-page, anarchist newsmonthly. Issue #4 leads off with a cover which proclaims "QUEER AND PROUD!" and includes a good reprint from **On Our Backs** titled "Bi women, lesbian identity, and sexual liberation" by Greta Christina, as well as a reprint of Bru Dye's "Radical faeries." Also in this issue is a reprint from **Profane Existence** of "Against imperialism; international solidarity and resistance." Issue #5 includes an article on the Mohawk struggle near Montréal (reprinted from **Bulldozer**), a self-criticism of the romanticization of violence in **Love & Rage** titled "More LOVE in our rage" by Samantha Stevens, and "Forging a worker-green alliance" by Laura Schere & Paul O'Banion. Subscriptions are $7.00/year (12 issues).

Bayou La Rose #32/Summer & #33/Summer '90 (302 N. J St., Apt.#3, Tacoma, WA. 98403) is an irregularly produced tabloid—now in its 12th year of publication. The editorial in #32—a big, 44-page "Special Resource Issue"—proclaims that "We support all anarchist views that are not based on hating other anarchists," and includes several long lists of publication, activist, bookstore & other addresses, as well as articles on Leonard Peltier, rain forests, Red Knife, recent arrests under Washington state's "criminal anarchy" law, & various other bits of anarchist or resistance news. Issue #33 is only 4 pages. Subscriptions are $7.50/4 issues.

The Match! #85/Summer '90 (POB 3488, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is a 56-page journal, lovingly published by Fred Woodworth on his own press. This issue continues Fred's eye-opening exposé of Madalyn Murray O'Hair's often bizarre antics with the publication of a speech by Robert Nordlander as an essay entitled "The making of a modern myth." Also included are I.R. Ybarra's column "Around & about," the second installment of a new novel serialization entitled "The Two Sisters" by Iris Lane, along with other articles and "the world's largest letters column." Subscriptions are $10/4 issues. And if you haven't yet seen a copy, don't forget to order Kent Winslow's book (which was serialized in past issues of **The Match!**), *Dream World*, for $8.00 postpaid (highly recommended).

Green Anarchist #24/Summer '90 (Box H, 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford OX4 1HZ, U.K.) is a lively 24-page magazine dedicated to creating a society of "Autonomous, self-sufficient villages, bringing regression of technology: no industry, no pollution, no hunger, no bomb." Issue #24 includes a section titled "Society makes us sick," a serious(!) piece on "Anarchy and celibacy" by Kevin, and Richard Hunt's highly questionable "Anarchism can't work in cities!" Subscriptions are £4.50/10 issues.

Ferment #2/undated (distribution: Ztangi Press, POB 11255, S.F., CA. 94706) is a new 80-page, small-format zine subtitled "Focus on Eastern Europe." This issue features "The Development of anarchism in Eastern Europe" by Stefan Wray (which appeared in **Anarchy** #25 as "Anarchy in Eastern Europe"). Subscriptions are $24/8 issues.

Discussion Bulletin #42/July-Aug. & #43/ Sept.-Oct.'90 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 24 to 28-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu—notably from the many varieties of DeLeonism, although there also seem to be an increasing number of letters written from an anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist perspective. Issue #42 includes letters from Bob Black, Mike Kolhoff and Mike Gunderloy which would interest **Anarchy** readers. Issue #43 includes an article outlining the statist positions of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, along with letters from Jon Bekken, Henri Simon and Frank Girard. Subscriptions are $3/year (6 issues).

The Thought Vol.10,#6/June '90 (POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is a 22-page, photocopied, monthly publication of the Philosophers Guild. Issue #6 includes "Meet me at the singularity" by Ben Price. Subscriptions are $10/year (12 issues).

The Shadow #10/Mar.-April, #12/June-July & #13/Aug.-Sept.'90 (POB 20298, New York, NY. 10009) is an energetic 20 to 24-page tabloid. Good coverage of what's happening with squatters, homeless and Tompkins Square Park struggles on the Lower East Side in New York. Issue #13 includes a piece giving **The Shadow's** view of the closing of Sabotage Books titled "Sabotage Books sabotaged" by Lamont Cranston. Subscriptions are $10/year (? issues).

Babyfish Lost Its Momma #4/undated (POB 11589, Detroit, MI. 48211) is a huge, 90-page compendium of Cass Corridor poetry, collage, reviews, interviews, fiction, commentary, etc. This issue includes hundreds of short, often cryptic or ironic pieces—sure to fascinate most readers for hours as they decode all the hidden & not-so-hidden messages. Send a couple dollars contribution for a sample copy.

Instead of @ Magazine #49/Fall '90 (POB 433, Willimantic, CT. 06226) is a lively litte 52-page journal. This issue features essays like "What is an anarchist?" by Mike Gunderloy, an interesting piece "On Gunderloy's challenges" by Wendell Bradley, "Portrait of an anarchist" (on Felix Feneon) by RAS, and "Religion and the information age" by Tom Palven. Subscriptions are $6.50/4 issues.

Libertarian Labor Review #9/Summer '90 (Box 2824, Champaign, IL. 61825) is a 46-page magazine of "Anarchosyndicalist Ideas and Discussion." This issue features, among many small news items, articles such as Sam Dolgoff's "The revolutionary revival in Eastern Europe," Will Firth's "Anarchist stirrings in the USSR," a message "From the Cuban anarchists," "Last chance for the IWW?" by Jon Bekken & Jeff Stein, and the first part of a long piece on "Industrial strategy and direct action" from Britain's Direct Action Movement, as well as reviews including one by Jeff Stein critical of John Zerzan & Alice Carne's *Questioning Technology*. Subscriptions are $5.00/year (2 issues).

Ideas & Action #14/Fall '90 (POB 40400, San Francisco, CA. 94140) is the irregular 20-page tabloid organ of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, a small, U.S. anarcho-syndicalist grouping affiliated with the International Workers Association (I.W.A./A.I.T.). This issue includes "Workers control in Melbourne" by Mike Kolhoff, "Just say 'no' to mideast intervention," "Redwood Summer: An issues primer" by Bill Meyers, and "European Greens: The new social democracy" by Philippe Pelletier, along with lots of labor news shorts. Subscriptions are $7.50/4 issues.

The Rat Race Record #6/Winter '89-90 (POB 1611, Union, NJ. 07083) is a readable 18-page magazine including pieces on "Population and poverty" by Geneva Hagen, "Human sacrifice at the Arcadia camp!" by Chief Piercing Eyes, and an exchange between Bob Black and Daniel Ust over anarchy & its image. Single copies are $1.00 each.

OTHER SMALL PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Anarchist Labor Bulletin #19/undated (POB 210095, San Francisco, CA. 94121-0095) is the 8-page publication of the Anarchist Labor Network "formed at the 1989 Anarchist Conference in San Francisco." This issue reports on S.F. Bay area Mayday events, "Greyhound and the media," and "Anarchist stirrings in the USSR." Subscriptions are $10/12 issues.

The Monthly Meander Vol.2,#11-12/April-June '90 (Carl Bettis, POB 32631, Kansas City, MO. 64111) is a 5-page "Newsletter of evolutionary anarchists" consisting of a few letters from contributors. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Class War! #5/July & #6/Aug.'90 (c/o Charles Wardell, POB 15125, Portland, OR. 97215) is a local little 8-page street sheet turning up the heat in Portland, Oregon. Issue #5 discusses "Secret(ly) police attack PDX dissidents," "Squatting 101," "As ~~nasty~~ LIBERAL as they wanna be" (on the controversy at Laughing Horse Books in Portland over whether to kick out **Anarchy** or not—because of our positive views towards free children's sexuality), along with a short piece on "Whither **Class War?**" Issue #6 includes an essay titled "Deep tried frees" on the original "diggers" movement. Send an SASE for a copy.

Ecomedia Bulletin #77/June 5, through #82/ Aug.14,'90 (POB 915, Stn. F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada) is a 4-page fortnightly anarchist news bulletin. These issues include news of the Mohawk Akwesasne/St. Regis conflicts, the car-bombing of Earth First! activists Judi Bari & Daryl Cherney, and the situation of framed Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal. Subscriptions are $15/year (26 issues).

Rebel Worker Vol.9,#7/Aug.'90 (POB 92, Broadway, N.S.W. 2007, Australia) is the monthly, 20-page "Paper of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation" in Australia. This issue features national labor news—especially concerning construction workers, and reports on the 7th National Congress of the Spanish C.N.T. (an anarcho-syndicalist union), the Soviet anarcho-syndicalist federation (K.A.S.), & the creation of a new Bulgarian Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (F.A.R.B.). Also included are a few book reviews, including Greil Marcus' *Lipstick Traces* and Stewart Home's *The Assault on Culture*. Subscriptions are $12/year (12 issues).

Brick #4/undated (POB 1153, Russellville, AL. 35653) is a 4-page streetsheet. Send an SASE for a sample.

Anarchy in Paradise #1/March '90 (A.M.P. Ltd., 2233 Kalakaua Ave., B205A #1261, Honolulu, HI 96815) is a new, nicely-produced 4-page tabloid. This issue features a reprint of the old S.R.A.F. pamphlet "The anarchist solution to the problem of crime." Subscriptions are $5/year (4 issues).

Corporate State #1/undated (c/o Rachel Rinaldo, Box 1245, McIntosh Student Center, 3001 Broadway, N.Y., NY. 10027-6598) is a small, 20-page zine which claims to be "the first fanzine from Indonesia...the fruit of a 10 month stay in East Java" by the publisher. This issue includes reprints of news from Indonesia, and comments on "Anarchism and violence" and "Mutual aid." Send $1.00 for a sample copy.

The Infinite Onion #4/undated (c/o Dave Fischer, 7559 Red Mountain Dr., Colorado Springs, CO. 80920) is a lively, 20-page anarcho-punk zine featuring articles on "Vienna anarchists" by Dave, and "On capitol punishment" by David Castleman. Subscriptions are $5/year (? issues).

Counter Information #28/Sept.-Oct.'90 (Pigeonhole Cl, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh EH1, Scotland) is a 4-page newssheet. This issue has more news on the mass resistance to the British poll tax. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Little Free Press #77/undated & #78/Oct. '90 (Rt.1, Box 102, Cushing, MN. 56443) is a 4 to 6-page description of Ernest Mann's own individual solutions to living as far outside the money economy as he can, along with his ideas for instituting a Priceless Economic System. (His new, 320-page Little Free Press anthology titled *I Was Robot* is now also available for $7.95 postpaid.) Send an SASE for a copy of his newsletter.

The Decadent Worker #177-178/Dec.'89 to #187-188/May '90 (Packrat Press, Box 5498, Atlanta, GA. 30307) is a single sheet usually carrying comments on publisher Kerry Thornley's coincidental involvement in the investigations of the JFK assassination, along with other—at times cryptic—writings. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Kultcha #136-137/Jan. & #138/Feb.'90 (Packrat Press, Box 5498, Atlanta, GA. 30307) is another Kerry Thornley production. Issue #138 contains a call for "building powerful anarchosyndicalist federations similar to the I.W.W. and the Spanish C.N.T." Send an SASE for a sample copy.

Lesbian & Gay Freedom Movement #4/Autumn '90 (BM Box 207, London, WC1N 3XX, England) is a 12-page zine of news and opinion. This issue includes "Law reform = liberation?" and news of the "Scat Club persecution." Single copies are 12p cash plus postage.

The State Adversary #15/Aug.'90 (POB 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand) is a 12-page newsletter featuring a section on "pranks" reprinted from **Re/Search**. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Each Leaf Feels #1/undated (Never Over Five, POB 4570, St. Louis, MO. 63108) is a tiny, 22-page zine including thoughts on play and "the beauty of nature." Send an SASE for a copy.

Everything Liberation Front #2/undated (4930 Pershing, St. Louis, MO. 63108) is a small 12-page zine including thoughts on anarchy and the art strike. Send an SASE for a copy.

The Black Oak #1/Mar.'90 (c/o M.P.O. Box 0187, Oberlin, OH. 44074) is a new, 10-page, photocopied zine including article on flagburning by Paul Dalton and a reprint of "What is anarchism?" by Albert Parsons. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

OTHER NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Rosso e Nero Vol.2,#10/Maggio & #11-12/Giugno '90 (Via del Campani n.69, 00185 Roma, Italy) is an 8-page, Italian-language newsletter. Send a contribution for a sample.

CNT #112/Marzo-Abril, #114/Mayo-Junio, #116/Julio-Aug., #117/ Agosto-Sept. & #118/Sept.-Oct.'90 (CNT-Periódico, Apartado, n.º 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) is the 20-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the anarchosyndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers union) in Spain. Issue #114 inlcudes Abraham Guillén's "El declive económico de EE.UU.," "El problema nacionalista en la Europa del Este" by Heleno Saña, and an editorial on "La necesidad de asumir la autodefensa" by Pablo Serrano. Issue #116 includes coverage of the increasingly successful voting abstention campaigns in Andulucía—in the most recent elections 44.5% of the electorate abstained, much higher than the percentage who voted for the ostensible "winners" of this electoral farce. Other articles include "La lenta reforma de la economía soviética" by Abraham Guillén, "Rumanía: La guerre civil latente" by Heleno Saña, and "Rebelión juvenil libertaria en el Este" reprinted from **Umanita Nova** (Italy). Issue #117 includes "La cara actual del fascismo y el estado democrático" by José Rúa. Issue #118 includes "De la 'Guerra del petroleo' a una recesión mundial" by Abraham Guillén. Subscriptions are 1900ptas./year (12 issues).

Guángara Libertaria Vol.11,#42/Primavera '90 (ISHSS, POB 1516, Riverside Station, Miami, FL. 33135) is a nicely-produced, 32-page, Spanish-language journal produced by Cuban anarchist exiles. This issue includes an article on "El destino de Cuba" by Ortega. Send a donation for a sample copy.

Enantia #7/Feb.-Mar.'90 (A/Coil, POB 30658, Athens 10033, Greece) is a well-produced, 20-page, Greek-language tabloid. This issue includes critical articles on the Greek state, the overall political-economic situation in Greece and local anarchist, environmentalist and workers' struggles. Also included is international news from Palestine, Romania, Italy, etc. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Cultura Libertaria #18/Junio '90 (Fundacion Isaac Puente, Apartado de correos 1687, Vitoria 01080, Spain) is the 24-page, Spanish-language bulletin of the Issac Puente center for libertarian documentation. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

International Anarchist News

S.O.S. from Argentina

Here in the city of Rosario, for several years now we have been able to create an environment in which a wide variety of alternative activities have been able to flourish. A number of independent groups and organizations (not supported by government funds) share a building, LA CASA. Included are

Grupo Impulso Augogestionario
(Group for the Encouragement of Self-Management)

Taller Ecologista (O.N.G.)
(Ecology Workshop)

Union Socialista Libertaria
(Libertarian Socialist Union)

Biblioteco y Archivo Historical Social "Alberto Ghiraldo"
(Social-Historical Library and Archive)

Cooperativa de Trabajo 1 de Mayo
(Work Cooperative)

Centro do Estudios Sociales "Rafael Barrett"
(Center for Social Studies)

Cooperativa de Vivienda "Rodo"
(Housing Cooperative)

Associacion Indianista Abya Yala
(Indian Studies Association)

As you can tell from the diversity of groups, we are involved in many different kinds of projects.

But recently, the severe economic crisis here in Argentina has been making it difficult for us to meet the rent on our shared working space. Since we cannot count very much on raising funds in our own country, we must appeal to our comrades around the world for concrete solidarity in the form of financial support, which we need to continue our activities. All of your gestures of solidarity, no matter how small, will contribute to North-South cooperation. Please write to:

Carlos A. Solero
C.C. 984
2000 - Rosario
Argentina

Daniel Raposo
C.C. 56 - Suc. 8
2000 - Rosario
Argentina

Translated April, 1990 by: Charlatan Stew (P.O.B. 31461, Seattle, WA 98103).

Who's apathetic?

Continued from page 5

less and less of what political campaigns are supposed to do."

I'm not sure that anything significant can be done about what the League so accurately calls "the cynical betrayal of the nation's voters," but if I were one of those betrayed and hoodwinked individuals, I would be distrustful of the complacent and self-satisfied bromides of high school civics courses. Voting, under the present circumstances, is not a responsible act bordering on piety, but a more or less mechanical and empty chore that the minority performs for the pleasure of being able to feel patriotic. It's a form of flag-waving that perpetuates a problem that the majority of us don't want.

But we, the majority, don't rule. Ten percent of the voting age population can elect a president, a fact that gives the lie to the concept of "majority rule"—an idea that sounds nice and democratic, but has no place in practice, like so many other holllow and unexamined slogans that give comfort to the hoodwinked.

Millions of people are repelled by the choices that the system provides, and they don't want to vote for the "lesser of two evils." Consequently, they don't want to vote, period. But their absence from the polls on election day is not a sign of indifference. I think it's the voters who are truly apathetic and uncaring. After all, they'll go along with anything.

Argentina:

Poverty and the Militarization of Society

Argentina, a country with an area of 1.2 million square miles (3 million square kilometers), used to be known as the world's granary. Today, out of a population of about 30 million people, nearly 15 million are recognized as "lacking basic necessities." The state cynically uses this euphemism as a cloak for what is commonly known as poverty, spiritual and material misery, hunger and sickness. The capitalist economic model that President Menem calls the "popular market economy" is condemning the majority of the people, who are becoming poorer by the day, to be sacrificed for the escalating profits of agricultural-export oligopolies. Millions of women, children and old people are deprived of proper health care, education and housing. Meanwhile, the system of financial roulette is emptying the pockets of those who produce the country's wealth.

Recently, more than 200,000 Argentineans have emigrated. Some are convinced that they will find a sunnier, warmer life in the North. Others are fleeing in anticipation of a new genocidal thrust by the military.

In fact, since April of 1987 the military, counting on the complicity of the politicians, has been targeting the civilian population. We have been experiencing an increasing militarization of society. Once again, men in uniform are swarming out of the barracks. Cities such as Rosario are daily overrun with federal police patrols on the ground and in helicopters.

The laws granting immunity from prosecution approved by Alfonsin (who was suitably obedient in the end), the pardons granted by Menem, and the decrees legalizing the intervention of the armed forces in internal conflicts, together open a somber prospect. They facilitate the use of state terrorism against popular protests and dissent by those opposing domination, exploitation and, ultimately, capitalist barbarity.

The ruling classes, and their political front men who control the government, are using the foreign debt (which might be called the eternal debt, since it is unpayable) as an excuse for continued exploitation. They present as indisputable the false alternatives that public services can only be "inefficiently run by the state" or "efficiently run by oligarchies linked to multinational capital." We libertarian socialists know that there are valid alternatives to both: Public services can be operated and managed by their own workers. We also assert that only through the socialization of health care services can health be assured for everyone. The complex problem of housing can be solved through the creation of cooperatives in which members work together to build and maintain their own homes. But all this would be admittedly quite difficult under the prevailing system of capitalist exploitation and domination.

Still, we don't think that it's necessary to wait for some distant future to fight for dignity and against exploitation. That is why, as a libertarian organization, we are participating right now, alongside others, in the resistance to the state-sponsored plundering. We are completely opposed to the social model which aims to create first and second-class citizens within one country. We are struggling and will continue to struggle against this attempt to impose de facto South African apartheid in this part of the world.

In our city, out a of a population of nearly a million, more than 300,000 people are undernourished and living in miserable housing; more than 100,000 men, women and children are destitute. We know that the abundance of the wheat fields is not reaching our children's mouths because of the manipulations by bureaucrats, clerics, politicians and bankers, perpetuating social injustice.

Our problem has a name: capitalism. And so does the solution: self-managed socialism. Only popular self-organization, the direct democracy of councils and assemblies, self-management and libertarian confederation will contribute to the liberation of all of us who inhabit the continent of "fire and fear."

While continuing to resist the authoritarian advance and working together in solidarity, let's not forget that there are no quick revolutions; they grow from the ground up.

No to the pardon, no to the amnesty of genocidal killers, and no to militarizations!

Defend collective liberties, ensure all liberty!

Self-manage work, consumption, education and all culture!

In the face of the terrorism of those who dominate us, we affirm life against death and injustice!

Grupo Impulso Autogestionario
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Translated by Charlatan Stew (P.O.B. 31461. Seattle, WA 98103).

May Day in the USSR

On the first anniversary of the founding of KAS anarchists went out into the streets and squares of the country.

In MOSCOW around 120 people carrying red-and-black banners marched through inner-city streets and joined with columns of demonstrators from other democratic opposition organizations. Among the slogans on their flags and banners were: "Power to the peoples, not to the parties", "Tell us, Communists, when is your State going to 'wither away'?", and "Anarchy isn't chaos - it's the harmonious co-existence of free individuals". Among the slogans chanted were: "Down with Leninism", "Down with the KGB", "Farewell, Communism", "Freedom for Lithuania", and many others. The anarchists drew a lot of attention from photographers and also from ordinary Muscovites, many of whom fell in behind the anarchists for a while. This was the first time in more than seven decades where the black flags of anarchy appeared on Red Square. The anarchists were then joined by members of several other groups, notably from the People's Socialist Brotherhood (following the principles of the Social Revolutionary Party of earlier this century) and from the All-Russia Committee for Forming a Socialist Party (led by Kagarlitsky). The march set off to the building where the great Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin was born and where now - contrary to Kropotkin's will - a State organization is housed, the embassy of the so-called State of Palestine. KAS is trying to attain the transfer of the building to Moscow's anarchists for use as a community center and a museum on the anarchist movement.

The embassy had been picketed previously on February 25. This time consular staff came out and spoke. They expressed willingness to move to new accommodation if such premises were provided by the Soviet authorities.

In KHARKOV about 100 anarchists took part in the May Day rally. Many of them had been attending the founding congress in Kharkov of the Ukrainian Anarchist Federation. Together with supporters of the progressive Ukrainian nationalists from Rukh and other democratic organizations, they marched through city streets. Among their slogans were: "Socialism without freedom is slavery and barbarism (Bakunin)", "Autonomy for every republic, region and individual", etc. During the rally anarchist Igor Rassokha megaphoned to the crowd a short history of anarchism and a run-down of the contemporary anarchist movement.



RSA "Stop Unemployment" demonstration in Poland.

In LENINGRAD too, anarchists took part in the May Day rally organized by the newly-elected City Council. Unlike Moscow TV, Leningrad TV did show anarchists in their round-up, but only accompanied by a rabid verbal attack.

In ANGARSK (near Irkutsk in Siberia) anarcho-syndicalists, social-democrats and "new socialists" organized their own May Day rally. Among the speakers to the rally was well-known Siberian anarchist Igor Podshivalov. Despite inclement weather, around 100 people took part in this small town's alternative May Day. Podshivalov reported that a congress of Siberian KAS-organizations was to be held in mid-July and that it is possible that a Siberian Anarchist Federation will be formed.

In KALUGA (SW of Moscow) 105 people took part in a May Day rally organized by the local Voters' Union. Anarchist participants, members of KAS, carried banners which read "Down with the Communist Party" and "Freedom means the right to choose". Members of the Democratic Union carried a banner reading "Give the Communist Party freedom of emigration!" The fact that it was possible to arrange and hold the rally was to a large degree due to the relatively good showing of democratic forces at the recent City Council elections. 63 of the 149 Council members had signed the program of the democratic alliance "Action". Since April 8 anarcho-communist Nikolai Politsyn has been holding a two-hour daily Vigil for Peace on Theatre Square in Kaluga.

International Anarchist News

Autonomija in Zagreb

By Laure A.

Autonomija is a collective of people from Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Their origins are complex and reflect the nature of working in socialist countries. First, there was the League of Socialist Youth; like in other countries with quasi-monolithic politics; because of the lack of alternatives, people were part of this group, but within the group there were many ideas and factions. Out of this a more radical group was formed named the Autonomous Democratic Alliance of Croatia. Some members of Autonomija had proposed a platform for this group, but it turned out that some others wanted to aspire to political power. Also, some were not so interested in some of the issues that were brought up. This put the Autonomija people in a bad position because they wanted access to the space, money for actions, use of the computer network etc... They were later forced to become political because some wanted to take a communist direction, so they formed the separate collective, Autonomija. (Autonomija is not a separatist group however; they plan to use whatever existing things they can to facilitate their agenda. They do not wish to become marginalized.) Their interests are ecology, demilitarization, autonomous, horizontal & anti-authoritarian principles of organization, homosexuals & women's rights, alternative culture. (One project they mentioned was trying to introduce alternative sexual education in primary & secondary schools.) They are interested in setting up an alternative space that could serve as a bookstore, concert, meeting and social space. They occasionally work on alternative cultural events—On may 5th there will be a large alternative concert called "Contravision" (the alternative to Euro-vision). The people in Autonomija however face similar problems to us in N.Y. (at least us in Queens.) They have problems finding space. There was an alternative space in Crnomerec, but they (the owners) want to sell it to turn a profit. They have a problem even finding out the owners of spaces. They don't know what they will be facing because they need to see who will govern the municipality. (Yugoslavia was in the midst of elections. The people in Autonomija did not expect to see "free" elections so soon and are particularly interested in the outcome of local elections as it may effect how they work in the community.) The space will probably not exist any longer and the folks in Zagreb face the same money problems that we do. They found a space they could rent, but it would cost 3,000 DM a month; perhaps if they sold drinks and went in on it with other groups they could get the space. (They are not opposed to working on projects with other groups and mentioned several, including the green phone network.) But now this is just an idea.

They are in favor of squatting—they would like to squat and get space but they are afraid this won't be possible. Some are pessimistic about the future because of these difficulties in realizing their plans. (Sound familiar? How many years and failed attempts before we got a regular bookstore in N.Y.?) They think they will not be able to survive as squatters in a space as long as the capitalists really want to make a profit off it—this they say they learned from the experiences of squatters in the West. (One must remember they are not a massive organized movement.) The FAI from Italy may help them out; however, they do not want to be a larger group or federation. They speak of their experiences in larger groups and the formal and/or informal hierarchies that necessarily become part of them. They feel that these cannot function effectively on anarchist principles and therefore they prefer to be a small group that works well together. Some people want to become part of the group, but they don't allow them, rather they are willing to help others organize autonomously.

Because of the lack of formal, more traditional anarchist organization, or at least pretensions of becoming one, some people look upon Autonomija as a locked, isolated group. In reality, they are not isolated at all as they work very much in public view; this is far better than isolating oneself in the anarchist ghetto. Stefan Wray mentions in one of his articles that Will Firth once wrote that Yugoslavia was a "weak link" in Eastern European anarchist movements; once he stated that opinion but now believes that the influence of anarchist ideas and the understanding of them may actually be greater than in the other Eastern countries.

We wish them the best. One can only hope that other autonomous groups will spring up with whom they can work on projects like the alternative spaces.

(Note: I greatly condensed the history of the foundation of Autonomija—hopefully the information reads accurately enough to give people a little idea of Autonomija's background. The only reason I feel it important to mention at all is because many anarchist groups in Eastern Europe are originally part of other larger groups, much like many isolated anarchists I know in the States who work in local peace groups, etc... Stefan and I were at the last Autonomija meetings, but unfortunately I only understand a little Croatian. Basically they were discussing their future (things like the concert, the space, etc.). It is interesting to look at Autonomija in Zagreb and perhaps a group like Autonomia in Budapest in comparison with other Eastern European anarchists; here is much more of an emphasis on social and cultural issues rather than the old "organization complex." -Laure)

Polish Anarchist Federation
Declaration

Issued by the 2nd National Conference
Nov. 11-12, 1989

We struggle to create anarchist society which is based on social justice and common ownership of the means of production, society in which absolute freedom would be limited by natural norms only, with peaceful co-existence and exclusion of exploitation being a priority. We aim to create autonomous unions, syndicates, local self-managed societies and communities forming regional and country-wide federations. This kind of social order is to be based on mass, direct and decentralized democracy where no division into ruling and ruled ones would be acceptable. This specific kind of democracy can be achieved by making the most of audiovisual media as well as by means of meetings, gatherings and popular congresses.

We struggle to abolish authoritarian, consumption-oriented and repressive culture of today's society, in which the individual is but a small part of a monstrous social and economic mega-machine, while his needs and aspirations are inevitably reduced to consumption of goods. Anarchism means also a fundamental change in human behavior and morality resulting in the liberation in sexual life from all kinds of limits and conventionalities.

We reject both capitalism and bolshevik communism as these systems are based primarily on exploitation, constraint and social injustice. That is why we protest against the policy of "Solidarity" and the present government of T. Maxowiecki, both aiming at the restoration of capitalism in Poland. This policy is an evident treason against the ideals of "Self-Managed Commonwealth" accepted in 1981 by the first national Conference of Delegates of "Solidarity" and can only effect in turning the country into the colony for a foreign capital. We protest against further division of society into the very rich and the very poor ones and also against planning and legalizing of mass unemployment. We disagree with government's project of submitting the country to the International Monetary Fund's dictatorship—as this organization is a personification of international capitalism—and protest against the maintenance of relics of communist rule as the price for sharing power.

Society must defend itself against pauperization and exploitation. The only way to make this most effective is to propagate and organize mass social self-defense actions. We should not be fooled by a campaign of deluding the society which is constantly led by "Solidarity", the government, the "Polish United Workers Party", and the Catholic Church.

Ceskoslovenske Anarchistycke Sdruzeni
(Czechoslovak Anarchist Union)
Founding Declaration

We, anarchists living in Czechoslovakia, have decided this 10th of October, 1989 to make public the CAS (Ceskosloveneske Anarchistycke Sdruzeni—Czechoslovak Anarchist Union which will make a free reference to the activity of the CAF (Ceska Anarchistykata Federace—Czech Anarchist Federation), constituted 65 years ago.

The CAS is the free and open union of those who have chosen the anarchist movement. It aims to integrate all the anarchists among all professions and social levels.

The CAS has to insist on the efficiency of the movement and to provide it a more normal development, so that its influence on our milieu is clearer than up to now.

The CAS is a union of people for whom the new and free society working on the basis of free association, the anarchist society, is the ultimate goal, even though this can seem unrealistic.

Thus the CAS recognizes as its most important goals:

1) To try to organize free groups, to make possible contacts and collaboration between individuals, and to support individual initiative and solidarity as the two most important elements of any sane social life.

2) To support information and editing activity as well as, for the support of our movement, to gather anarchist literature, both theoretical and for propaganda.

3) To support every antimilitarist or anti-nationalist movement.

4) As a part of the international movement, to make contacts with anarchists across borders.

5) To support every information and organization activity,

6) To take a clear position against terrorism.

Nevertheless those goals are far from being the only ones, for in any case they cannot limit individual initiative.

The CAS appeals to all the groups and associations to pay more attention to the anarchist consciousness and to the seriousness and intelligence of their activists, rather than to their number.

We maintain the right to refuse the entry into the union of anybody who wouldn't enjoy the trust of our activists.

The CAS can be contacted at the following address in Czechoslovakia or at its PO Box in France. Please use neutral envelopes and mention CAS only inside. Thank you!

Jiri Benes
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13000 Praha 3
Czechoslovakia

L. Mayard
BP 11
44401 Reze
France

Resolution of the National Congress of the
Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria

May 19-20, 1990 in Kasanlak

After 45 years of dictatorship the FAB is still alive. The physical and moral elimination of freedom loving forces is not possible.

Our last aim remains the same: the erection of a free society without State and an economy without exploitation. Our basic principles remain unchanged: Freedom, Justice and Morality, Mutual aid, we see as the basic nature and principle of society.

We are anarchists because we are convinced that power and trying to get power leads to corruption.

We are socialists because we stand for freedom, equality, and justice.

We are for a priority of cooperative property because it prevents exploitation and realizes technical progress in the interest of the collective without exploitation.

We will propagate our ideas by legal and peaceful means. We reject violence in all its forms and directions. We distance ourselves absolutely from terrorism and we condemn any attempt that presupposes terrorism.

In our approaches to the situation we give an account of the conditions of today. We are clear about the fact that a direct fight for reaching our aims is not possible without a fight for a more democratic society. The hard way to freedom has to begin step by step until its end. Because of this reason, we cooperate with all movements whose aim is bigger freedom and the elevation of material wealth.

According to our actual fight for a decentralization of our society and the end of the economic and political crises, we engage in:

The creation of a bourgeois society in which freedom will be granted by real control of the citizens and not only by the constitution.

For real freedom of the spoken and printed word.

For the abolition of the death sentence, torture and other cruelties.

For free reunion of forces of society in organizations, movements, clubs, parties, etc. We prefer the principle of federation within organization.

For the right of legal fight of the working people including the right of strike and against the rejection of material and intellectual interests.

For handing over property and land to the communes and to guarantee the right of the inhabitants to self manage the forms of economy but without selling and commerce.

For introducing a system of taxes which restricts State property and promotes cooperative and private property as far as it excludes the possibility of exploitation.

For a social politics which hinders pauperization, for a permanent just regulation of the family income, for free medical care and free learning (education?)

For the confiscation of all the collected riches of certain persons or organizations above a certain limit which should be fixed justly. This property should be invested in funds useful for society.

For a maximum shortening of the bureaucratic apparatus.

As a countermeasure against unemployment there must be introduced a shorter working day.

For the sentencing within the legal framework for those who have done moral or physical crimes and those who are intellectual leaders behind these crimes. However as one of the organizations who was first and foremost hit by the repression we are against revenge. Compensation for the victims must come out of the assets of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the MVR.

For the reduction of the army and the time of service with the perspective of the total dissolving within the frame of Europe.

Against religious and racist discrimination.

For a scientific education which is free from the influence of parties, classes, religions, and politics.

For a true and just ecological politics based on the realizations of modern science.

The conference has chosen the following organs:

Secretariat of the Federation

Commission for actualizing the common platform

Contact group for relations with other political organizations

Staff

Speaker of the Federation

The paper which is edited by the Federation has the name **Free Thought** and the edition is called "New World."

News from Italy

By Stefan Wray

Editorial Note: *This article was written and submitted last Spring, however, due to delays & our change to a quarterly schedule, it has not appeared until now.*

I've been in Italy more or less since the middle of January. During this period, I have met anarchists in a number of cities and small towns. (Trieste, Udine, Pordenone, Milano, Carrara, Pisa Modena, Vignola, and Bologna) By now, I have some sense or impression of what's happening in Italy with anarchism and other social movements. Something that you should know right away is that in Italy, there has been a resurgence of political activism in the last 3 months. There is a student movement which in it's strength and impact on the rest of society has not been seen since the '70s. Although I've been here for more than 2 months, the majority of my time has been in Trieste. For the past ten days, I went on a little tour, first with 3 Hungarians from the group Autonómia, then by myself. A description of this will provide you with a panorama of what is happening today.

Last Thursday (3.15.90), Agnes, Gabor, and Tibor arrived from Budapest to begin a week long trip in Italy to present a book on Hungary '56 which Tibor wrote an introduction for, and to speak about the current situation and their group Autonómia. Unfortunately, due to visa problems at the Austrian border, they arrived late, so they didn't get to speak very much that night. We had a midnight dinner of, of course, pasta, bread and wine.

In Trieste there is a very small anarchist group called Germinal, which is doing very big things. At the moment, they are very much involved with a meeting about Eastern European anarchism next month. There is also a libertarian radio station. One man, an older retired "comrade", is the main force behind this. He likes to talk a lot about Nestor Makhno (Ukrainian anarchist active during and after the Russian revolution 1917) and in fact made a video about him. In general, anarchism in Trieste, like the town, is conservative and traditional. Germinal is part of FAI (The Italian Anarchist Federation), which I will talk about soon.

In the region of Trieste there are some small towns with active groups. In Udine is a self-managed social center (Centro Sociale Autogestito) and in Pordenone an independent anarchist group called Gruppo Emiliano Zapata (independent from any federation or other networks). The Centro Sociale, which is one of almost 100 similar occupied buildings, a phenomenon of the past three years, is experiencing internal problems and at the same time faces eviction because the municipality wants to tear down the buildings to build a parking lot for the Mundial, the Soccer championship in July. Several people have mentioned that what can be definitely described as an increase in police repression and right wing attacks on anarchists, racist attacks and others, may be an attempt to clean up the country a bit to present a civil society to the rest of the world during the soccer games in the summer.

Also near Trieste is a small group interested in social ecology. In this region people have spoken about Murray Bookchin, who has been to speak in Italy several times, deep ecology and bioregionalism.

On Friday, 8 of us left for Carrara, the 3 from Budapest, two others from Zagreb and Amsterdam, from Germinal and myself. Spent half the time with the Hungarians informing them of details of the upcoming meeting in April. We were greeted at the end of the highway and escorted to a house near Carrara, in which three generations of anarchists live.

Carrara, notable for its marble, is in Toscana on the West Coast of Italy, between Genova and Pisa. It has particular historic interest for Italian anarchism. In fact it is one of few towns in the world where there are actual anarchist monuments and statues. There is now the printing press of **Umanita Nova**, the weekly paper of FAI, several anarchist cafes, and a big meeting space also called Germinal in the central square (More on this in a moment). It's one of few places in Italy where there is a feeling of an anarchist community. Milano may have more anarchist locals, a bookstore, centro sociales, but they are spread out. But a characteristic of Carrara anarchist community is it's age and roots in traditional class struggle anarchism. We visited a bar in the hills a few kilometers out of town in which there were ancient photographs of Malatesta and Bakunin and a photo of a big gathering on the first of May in 1913. Inside were a handful of oldtimers playing cards and reading the newspapers.

On Saturday, we began in the morning with a meeting in the big building on the main square. Hanging from the windows were big black and red flags and banners of FAI. It gave the impression that anarchists were in control of the town. They were in the past. It was a planning meeting for the one in Trieste in April. Besides us who drove from Trieste, the rest were from different FAI groups in northern and central Italy.

The content of the meeting was purely organizational details: food, housing, visas, logistics, etc. What is noteworthy is the style and form. It took place in a very big room with a high ceiling, dark furniture, dim light. The composition was overwhelmingly men in their '30s and '40s, with a few old timers interspersed to give a real sense of history. It was unlike any anarchist meeting I'd ever been to. I'm sure it was very curious for the Hungarians to witness. Even more curious is what happened afterwards. It was the meeting of FAI to discuss an upcoming congress. The essence of this was an explosive debate over the crisis of their organization. Unknown to me beforehand, their present constitution is still that which was written by Malatesta in 1922. The main split is between those who want to change it and those who think that to touch the words of Malatesta would be sacrilegious. Someone during this said that, "FAI is like a train, continuing to move ahead, but all the passengers have left, and the coaches are empty." (Loose translation) Some of us left this circus and went for a ride to a little town, walked up to a nice vantage point and sat to contemplate the surrounding hills.

On Sunday, after a relatively leisurely morning and short discussion between the Hungarians and the organizers about the idea that there should be more input and involvement of the Eastern European anarchists in decisions about content and form of the Trieste meeting, those from Autonómia and myself left for Vignola, a small town famous for it's cherries situated between Modena and Bologna. We entered into a completely different and more agreeable atmosphere. It was a welcome relief after several serious days.

Lampico is another Centro Sociale. When it was squatted, I don't remember, but at least 3 or 4 years ago. Contrary to Carrara, Lampico is comprised of predominantly young people and seems to be about half women and men. They had prepared a sumptuous meal with many courses. We ate and drank and then put the tables together and all listened to Tibor, Agnes and Gabor speak about Hungary. I wondered what a place such as this was doing in such a small town. Later I learned that some time ago many young people came to pick cherries. It became kind of a counter culture place and some people stayed on. Their activities, now, are around antimilitarism, developing a self managed space for meeting, music, eating, etc, helping heroin addicts and trying to fight the new antidrug laws amongst other things. Not everyone is an anarchist, but things are organized along anarchist ideas of cooperation and self management. Some people are involved with street theater. From this group and the two other Circulos in nearby Modena, people put out the magazine **Anarres** (printed in Carrara also). It is a new publication which wants to be a voice for antiauthoritarian ideas, action and culture in all of Italy. They seem to want to have a broad perspective of anarchism, that can be relevant for the next century, moving beyond the limitations of some of the more traditional views such as those of FAI and **Umanita Nova**. They don't wish to discredit **Umanita Nova**. After all, it's the only anarchist weekly, but it essentially represents a way of thinking that some say does not suit the times we are in.

After two or three hours discussion about Hungary and Autonómia we went to Mauricio's house and continued talking until late at night. Perhaps it was the wine or the position of the moon, but I surprised myself in being able to translate Italian (mixed with Spanish) into English and German. With Agnes' French and of course Hungarian, there were 6 languages being spoken. It got so confusing that in some sentences 3 languages were mixed together. But we understood each other.

This was the first chance to get other points of view on anarchism in Italy. Until then, I'd mostly been with people in FAI. According to these folks in Vignola and Modena, the 3 national organizations, FAI, GIA (Gruppo Initiativa Anarvchici) and USL (Unione Syndicato Italiano) only represent 10 to 15% of Italian anarchism. They contend that a clear majority of anarchists are part of local independent autonomous groups. And contrary to a friend in Pisa who cites the print run of **Umanita Nova** which has declined during the '80s, as an indication that anarchism in Italy today is also on a decline, these people feel that in fact anarchism is experiencing a period of growth, development and transformation. Remember that the political situation in Italy is very complicated. It is impossible to get a complete picture unless one speaks the language, stays for a long time and talks to as many people as possible. Even then it will still seem complicated.

On Monday, we all continued our talks with Mauricio. He prepared another feast for us and then we left for Bologna. After close contact for days, we were starting to get on each other's nerves and enjoyed splitting up for a while. I found the John Hopkins University Library and read a weeks worth of news. Again that night, another group of FAI. Different that the others of course, but a contrast to Lampico. It was sparsely attended. Enjoyable though because the translators were slightly drunk and laughing the whole time. Perhaps a bit disconcerting for the Hungarians who in comparison were soft spoken, quite serious, and refrained from wine except to have a taste for the sake of being polite. These two clowns (translators) were quite friendly and afterwards I said goodbye to A. G. and T. and joined them in a local bar full of noise and laughter. One was accusing the other of having taken funds intended for some anarchist project and depositing them in a Swiss bank account. While the other was accused of receiving millions of Liras from an insurance settlement. Neither of which were true. Anyway, we had some good laughs and I went to sleep in the home of a very short Italian, in which it was impossible to stand erect.

On Tuesday, I left for Pisa to visit Robertino and his household. We had met before in Amsterdam last summer and in January. This time I went for a specific reason and stayed just for two days. Both of us are interested in developing better connections between anarchists in North America and Europe. I learned that the situation with the student movement in Pisa, part of a nationwide movement of occupations, demonstrations and sit-ins, had been through a lot of changes since January. When I was there before, I witnessed the first meeting at the Faculty of Letters and the subsequent occupations of buildings that occurred. Initially it was a movement opposed to a new law calling for the privatization of University funding, thus making Universities more susceptible to corporate influence, What's happening now has a broader perspective and focus.

From an anarchist point of view, the student movement has numerous points to be critical of. Too big a subject for this article. Maybe it is sufficient to say that unlike Eastern Europe, the Communist Party, especially in Red Italy in the center, is quite strong. So there are, of course, all these young communists of various sects and tendencies. Not unsurprisingly, but to the dismay of anarchists and others with libertarian minds, they have risen to leadership positions. However, according to Robertino, while they were effective in being able to do this at the beginning during a volatile and confusing situation, since that time other ways of organizing have gained a foothold. Apparently some students have been working in small groups and councils in a more non-hierarchic way. In Pisa, links have been made between students, independent trade unions, the centro sociale which has a stronger anarchist than Autonomen (Marxist-Leninist) leaning, and others in the community like those organizing against racist attacks which are occurring more frequently. Some other issues then, which have come to the foreground, are racism, the proposed even more repressive antidrug law, and police repression in general. Of course during all this, right-wing groups have not been quiet. Apart from general verbal condemnation, and demands that the police put a stop to these young radicals once and for all. In Pisa, for instance, the local anarchist center was attacked and some things destroyed (No major damage).

These attacks, whether they be by organized or unorganized fascist groups or the police, are perceived to be increasing in frequency. Victims have been Africans, students, anarchists and squatters so far. Someone commented that the fall of Communism in the East may be a green light for those who want to see anything "left" erased from Italy. Another theory is that "they" want to clean up Italy in preparation for the Mundial soccer games. But still a more obvious reason is the old adage that every action produces an equal and opposite reaction. Fortunately the reaction hasn't

matched the action. Last week, there was a demonstration of more than 100,000 students in Napoli and 30,000 against racism in Florence. For several months the majority of the Faculties at the major Universities in the whole country were occupied and closed!

This all follows a period of political and social stagnation during the '80s. The last time that there was any kind of movement in Italy was in the late '70s. In March of 77 (or 78??), tanks rolled through the streets of Bologna. Someone was killed. The "left" turned to violence. The Red Brigades. Police repression. By the early '80s the government had successfully put a lid on any kind of militant dissent. Residues of this period are clearly evident today. Counter terrorist laws from that period coupled with some similar laws from the fascist period are still on the books. One can go to prison, like in West Germany, for merely possessing written material which in any way mentions such things as armed resistance or the name Rosa Brigada. The power of the police is very evident. I've seen more random checks by the Caribinieri, the military police, on the highways than in any other country I've been in, including Mexico and Central America.

A consequence of all this, this recent history, is that the movements emerging now are very careful, they remember and realize that the violence of the late '70s and early '80s didn't change much. If anything, it encouraged a greater and stronger state. So now there is an emphasis on nonviolent tactics. There is a fear that the government, given the opportunity or cause, would like to resort again to strong police repression to break up and destroy what is starting again.

On Thursday, I went to Florence to attend a demonstration against racism. In February, men from Africa who sell things in the streets were attacked and beaten. They were accused of stealing jobs from Italians. This instigated numerous actions from both the city government and the student movement. The Council of Florence decided that the best way to deal with the problem was to close the city off to street vendors and increase harassment by police against the Africans. Someone commented that Florence felt as if it were under siege for several weeks.

Africans have been migrating a lot to Italy in the past 2 or 3 years. Most are from Senegal, Somalia, Morocco and other northern countries. As usual they are forced to take the most low paying jobs, street vendors or picking tomatoes in the south. In Florence last year a shopkeeper hired some young African men to work as mannequins, to stand still all day modelling fashionable clothes. He was later arrested for this. For women from Africa, it's a different story, worse. Many have become prostitutes. There is a practice that their bosses take their passports, and don't give them back until they can pay for them. A modern type of slavery and entrapment. Florence, a wealthy city, is also a racist city. More so than Bologna or Pisa. It is here that's been the heart of racial conflicts. The response of the government in general to racist attacks has not been of course to side with the Africans but to make new rules concerning immigration, making it harder to get in. People from outside the European Community must now show sufficient funds. This is in accord with what critics of 92 say, that Europe will open up it's internal borders but close off it's exterior to others particularly those from the third world. Of course, as you probably know, nationalism and racism is a problem in almost every European country today.

A whole train load of us arrived from Pisa and made our way to the center. I was surprised by the numbers of people (30,000). There were speeches from all points of view which I couldn't understand. A band from Senegal played and danced. Of course the various sects of Communism were present. This is red Italy, nearby Bologna is Communist Party controlled. But the demo had a good lively energy. The vast majority were young people, students and nonstudents alike. The next largest group were Africans. I spoke with a young man from Senegal in my broken French to learn that he had left Dakar only 9 months ago. He was very sharply dressed, a bit shy, but seemed very pleased with the attendance and support against racists.

The whole thing lasted from about 3:00 in the afternoon and was continuing strong when I left at night. After the speeches, we moved through the streets. It was the best way to tour the heart of the ancient city. We were a semi unruly mob. Chanting, dancing, running, jumping up and down. Some people threw coins at the luxurious shop windows and at the merchants standing in the doorways. Others spraypainted anti-fascist, anti-racist, and anti-police slogans everywhere (but also hammer and sickle) and were generally mildly rebellious. Strange that the police were not too much in sight.

I learned that what actually had been happening in Florence had been a big deal. The local government coalition had fallen apart over this issue. There was a hunger strike by those Africans who had been beaten. Well, the point is that racism had come to the foreground. I didn't understand any of the speeches, but I did see the flag of the ANC and some said the demo was not only about racism in Florence, but in all of Italy and the rest of Europe.

Not too many visible signs of anarchists. No black flags. Only a few punks with circle A's scrawled on the back of their jackets. It was a typical mass rally, followed by a march through town and a rendezvous back at the original site. But I have some observations which may be of interest. I noticed a complete absence of "peace police". There didn't seem to be any of the organizers specifically assigned the task of monitoring and controlling the demonstration. In one case, a merchant was being pelted with coins. Stupidly, instead of going inside, he challenged and provoked us. One eager young man took this as his cue, a chance to take a strike against all the glitter and ritz, and jumped on the guy. Everyone else spontaneously pulled them apart. Apparently the consensus was this was not the moment to do damage to this individual. The point—the people didn't need "peacekeepers" to control their activities, they did it themselves.

Other things? Spoke to a young Italian student of political science. He said he was in the States recently in California. His comment was that there seemed to be no social or political movements, that everyone was asleep. Apparently, what organized social unrest exists is invisible to outsiders. Another example of many that activists in Europe know very little if anything about what is really happening in North America. What they mostly know are the distorted media truths perpetuated by films and the international press.

After Florence, that night, I continued on to Bologna again to meet someone at a concert at yet another Centro Sociale. A semi-hardcore band from Oslo. Music I'd heard many times before. Nothing original. I went with people back to Modena.

On Friday night, I went to Scintilla in the outskirts of Modena. Another squatted social center. This one predominantly anarchistic. Occupied for 5 years. Dinner and slides of Peru. Scintilla is similar to Lampico. A current project is organizing an antimilitarist festival which will happen the same weekend as the Trieste meeting in April. Military service is compulsory. They are a bit less insulated than others I've met. People from their group have travelled and know, for example, other anarchists in Berlin and Barcelona. Someone is planning a trip to Eastern Europe later this year. But when I asked one what he knew about anarchism in North America, it was a familiar answer, not much. He knew about Chicago in 1886 and of course Sacco and Vanzetti. About today, Murray Bookchin and Native American Indians, also the Living Theater. That's all.



Typical storefront window in Kreuzberg section of West Berlin: posters about squatting actions and other demonstrations plastered on windows. *Photo by Howard Besser.*

The whole time I was there I kept thinking, why don't we have free spaces like this in the States? A place like Scintilla or Lampico, with no rent, a big room, a kitchen, a stage for concerts. A big difference between North American and European anarchists is that in Europe, especially young people, have taken space for themselves. In Spain, Holland, West Germany and Italy, I've visited such locals. They have their differences, but in common they are all free, self-managed places for meetings, feasts, festivals, concerts and work. Now in Italy this is an important part of what the new generation of anarchists are doing.

On that same Friday we received a phone call from Carrara. That morning a special "anti guerilla" police squadron of several hundred invaded the city, closed off all access to the center and proceeded to seal off the entrance to Germinal with bricks and mortar. No one was even in the building at the time. To the people of Carrara it felt like a military occupation. This action was not a surprise however. Germinal which had previously been owned by the city, three years ago was sold to a private developer. This particular building has been used by anarchists since 1945. For many people, it has always been an anarchist space. But as is happening over much of Italy and Western Europe, the historic centers are being renovated and turned into areas for people with money. Poor and working class people are gradually being forced to live in the peripheries. The people in Germinal had expected something like this for some time, ever since the building went into private hands. Why it happened at this time is not clear. Nevertheless, it was sort of a surprise attack occurring early in the morning.

Two days later there was a demonstration which turned ugly and several people were hurt. We arrived from Modena too late for the first part of the demonstration, but in time to drive slowly past the town square to witness police clubs in the air and people scattering in all directions. There were about 500 demonstrators, some came from Spain and France. The violence started when some people tried to smash the bricks down with big sledge hammers. The police were let loose. We parked the car and quickly made our way back to the square. Encountered my friend from Pisa hobbling towards a car. He'd been hit pretty hard on his legs and back. His friends were taking him back to Pisa to see if he needed medical attention. A few others were put in the hospital. Some arrests were made, but they were released after a few hours. So we arrived full of energy only to be part of a group that seemed defeated, which they were. There was a lack of direction at this point. People wavered between continuing to fight the police or calling it quits and going home. Eventually the later option was followed. There were a few further events such as throwing rocks through the window of the municipality building. But nothing more. Most people felt it was a sad day and left with gloomy faces. There was really nothing we could have done. There were too many police fully equipped. Not enough of us, fully unequipped. The demo was not planned to be a fight with the police. In fact nothing was really planned, a lot of people just showed up. There wasn't a lot of support from the community. If anything what happened just reinforced the common misconception that anarchy equals violence. A bar, not a fancy place, had it's window broken. Even if it had been a planned concerted effort to battle with the police, they would have still easily overpowered us.

Some people spoke about the fact in Carrara, where because of the marble mines, they have the capability of using dynamite to blow things up. But I think most people agree that the current political climate does not warrant this type of action. It would only further isolate anarchism and give cause for more police attacks. During the fascist era this tactic was used and the region was a strong area for the partisans, but at the time they had very much popular support. Others said that there should be another demonstration with many, many more people.

We left and drove back to Modena that evening. Evaluating what had happened. Why the police had chosen this time? What it meant in the overall scheme of things? No clear answers.

On Monday (3.26.90) I arrived back in Trieste. I will spend the next two weeks continuing to help out with preparations for this meeting of Eastern European anarchists and everyone else who is coming. I am looking forward to meeting people from Neither East nor West who are coming and some from San Francisco. I've been in Europe since February last year and feel out of touch with what's going on in the States. The last time I spoke with an American was in November. So I will be glad to speak with them and learn the latest news and to tell them what I've learned here.

Alternative press review

Continued from page 6

disturbing, 16-page zine in which Claire shares "the things that I think about, when I'm going to work, when I'm sitting at home listening to music or when I'm just plain in the mood to write." Interesting. Send 75¢ in cash or stamps for a sample copy.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS:

Telegraph #2/Jan. through #13/Aug.6,'90 (Schliemannstr. 22, Berlin 1058, D.D.R) is an East Berlin, 36 to 48-page, German-language publication. Issue #2 includes articles like "Gewaltmasstäbe: Mielkes Nachttopf kaputt," "Luxemburg-Liebknecht-Demo 1988 und 1990," and "Debatte um das neue Wahlgesetz." Other issues seem to be largely devoted to the current issues involved in reunification, and reactions to the rise of right-wing activities in Germany. Single copies are 1,50M plus postage.

East-West @ Conference
Trieste Italy

By Laure A. & Stefan Wray

For the first time since Amsterdam in 1907, a conference which included a good amount of anarchists from both Eastern and Western Europe was held in Trieste, Italy. Anarchists from the East were invited to attend by the group Germinal; there were people from all the eastern countries with the exception of Romania and Albania. (The presentation on Romania was done by a Romanian living in Paris.) There were also people from most of Western Europe, except from Norway, Portugal, Ireland and Iceland. In addition, there were 10 or 11 North Americans present of which at least half have been living or traveling in Europe. Money for the conference was collected from donations from individual anarchists & groups world wide.

The first day of the conference was set aside for presentations; people spoke about their groups and a little about anarchist projects in their countries. On the following days there were more presentations and also several workshops, including ones for networking and specific projects. First we will mention some of the concrete proposals to come out of the conference, then we will talk about some of the politics of the groups attending the conference.

Projects Agreed Upon At The Conference

1st. There will be an intercontinental information bulletin, to be assembled in N.Y. Groups are asked to send typed texts, preferably in English, to N.Y. where they will be assembled and sent to other members of the network who will xerox them and distribute them locally. For more information contact: P.O. Box 1737, NYC 10009 USA.

2nd. Further conferences including an intercontinental networking conference in Berlin and a conference for Eastern anarchists in Prague.

Other projects discussed and in the works:

There was much talk of increasing information exchange particularly through computers and fax machines.

People also discussed the need for a more analytical bulletin to be published. If interested, contact: Box 1425, NYC 10005 USA.

Several people mentioned anarchist camping projects throughout Europe. One was camping and restoration work at Priamukhino. (The former Bakunin estate near Kalinin), which we'll both be working on.

Some people will be travelling and acting as messengers. Dave from Sabotage books suggested a courier network.

One woman is involved in a travelling countercultural road show and will be hitchhiking with a group to Moscow.

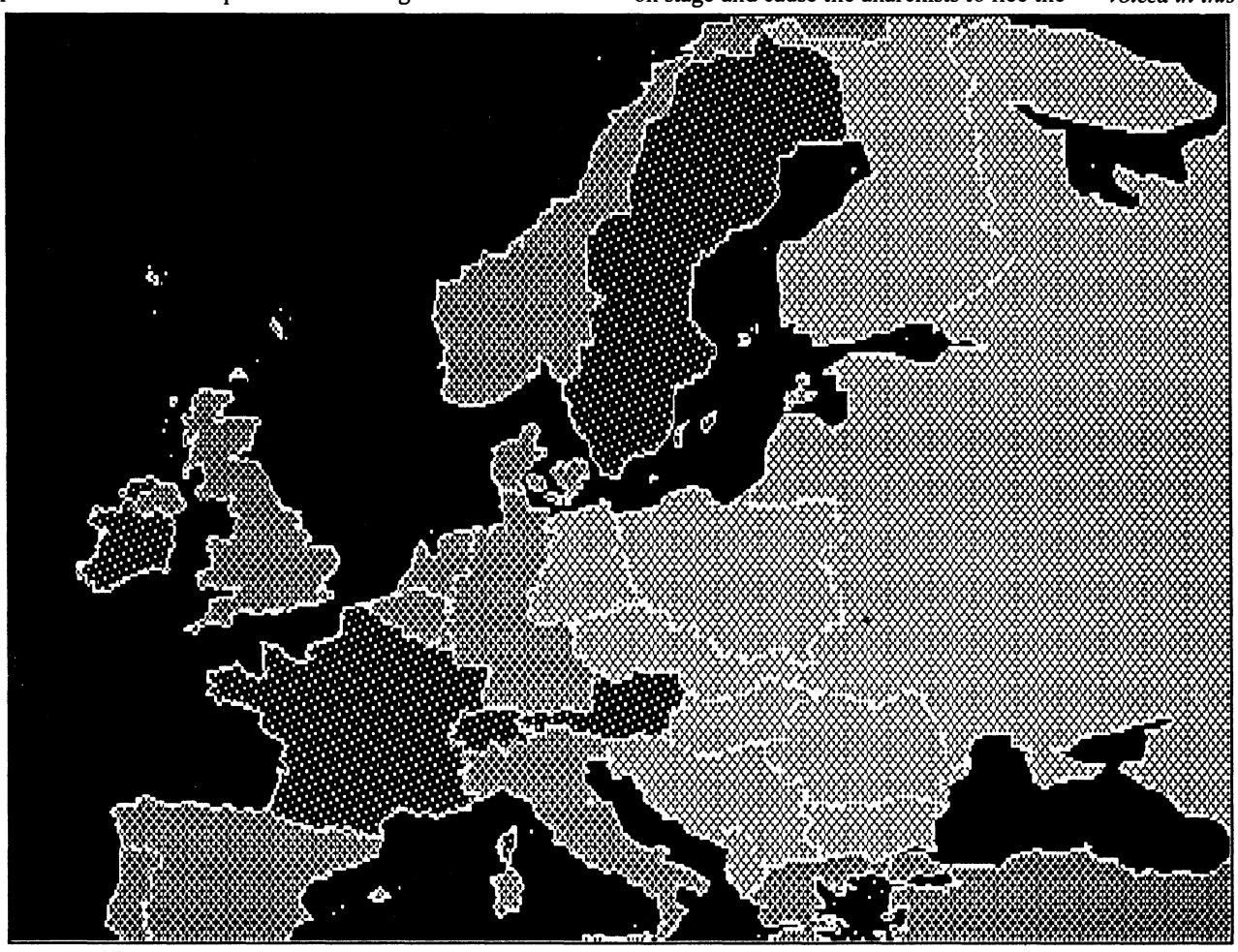
People from the East mentioned the need for an Eastern only bulletin. This will be discussed at the Eastern conference.

There was a proposal for a day of international simultaneous actions. In relation to this, it was proposed that demonstrations be held in 1991 to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Kronstadt uprising. People from Czechoslovakia made some proposals for an "International Anarchy Day."

People will be sending more literature to anarchists in the East. We want to set up subscription funds. There were requests for literature, particularly for pamphlets and material on how to organize.

There was some material and a typewriter was donated and some paper sent. Stephen Dankowich invited Vladimir Gubarev of the Konfederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists to speak in Canada.

Joey & Tim from S.F. will be transcribing tapes of the conference. These will serve as a basis for further articles.



Eastern Europe at a crossroads. *A small opening for anarchy, or merely the consolidation of a new order?*

(The map shows the old battle lines between NATO, Warsaw Pact, and "neutral" or semi-independent nations.)

Who Was There and Who Wasn't

Most of the Italian anarchist movement wasn't. The Dutch were the first to come and the last to leave. There were a few North Americans from N.Y., S.F. & Canada. I assume that they really were not representing any group, with perhaps the exception of Bob McGlynn from Neither East Nor West and **On Gogol Blvd.**, who has been instrumental in building East-West contacts between anarchists.

The Soviets and Bulgarians were tremendously under-represented. In the case of the Soviets for example, only one man attended. He represented the Konfederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, with a membership of about 1,000 people. (By far the largest group in E. Europe. The Soviets still face many travel restrictions.) There were materials sent by several Bulgarians who were unable to attend.

The Greeks were also tremendously under represented with only two people attending. (Incidently, their speech was interrupted to allow yet another Italian ideologue to get up on stage and cause the anarchists to flee the theatre.) Apparently, Greece is considered a Western country while Yugoslavia is still considered Eastern. (Yugoslavs themselves said they were part of the western camp.) The two countries hold a special position between both East & West.

There was a good selection of people from Poland representing various groups. A couple brought lots of literature with them and made very good displays.

The Yugoslavs were plentiful, in part due to geographical considerations and the absence of travel restrictions. In some cases, almost entire groups attended, and we gathered that a good portion of the Yugoslav anarchist movement was in attendance.

Several groups from France attended, including people from **Iztok** ("East"), a magazine dealing with Eastern issues.

People from Hungary and Czechoslovakia were there, plus a diversity of groups from Western Europe. However, the groups from Western Europe tended to be the more traditional kinds like anarcho-syndicalists and federations. These groups were present more so than smaller independent or autonomous anarchist collectives.

Critique of the Conference

(Note: Even though I was in Trieste for three months, I never felt I was completely integrated with the group Germinal and so not fully part of the decision making process. Largely this was due to the language barrier, but also due to the fact that they have a fairly crystallized way of working together which doesn't so easily allow for others to break in and widen the circle. Some of the critiques voiced in this article are things I was trying to say all along. -Stefan)

(Note: I tried to record some of the most common critiques. Critiques of the politics of several groups were also expounded, however, as none of them were the predominant sentiments of the meeting as a whole, they will be omitted. -Laure)

One could say it was a blast from the anarchist past. It was organized by a small group of people. Most people, in particular the Easterners, did not come to listen to people give lectures about the anarchist line. It was organized from a Western European and Italian perspective; the style of Germinal was "old-fashioned" and academic compared to that of the Easterners. Many meetings were held in theaters which lent to an audience-spectator atmosphere. This however was not the fault of Germinal, as Trieste has a poor infrastructure; there were few spaces and no real radical community to back this project.

It seemed as if workshops were decided upon without any input on the part of the participants, but as Stefan pointed out, it was organized with a Western European perspective. While a few Westerners, for example, felt it important to discuss the "crisis of Marxism," most people felt this issue was settled a long time ago. There was very little, if any, presentation or discussion of ecological anarchism or social ecology, etc. from the West. Particularly noteworthy considering that there we are in the midst of what is being increasingly called an ecological "crisis," and even **Time** magazine devotes pages and a cover story to "Earth Day." Yet a lot of the western groups cling to classical anarchism, some hesitant to make the transition from anarchism in the industrial age to anarchism in this information age and for the next century.

(The most notable exception to this however were the people from **Anarchismo** and it's English counterpart, **Insurrection**. I felt it important to stress the predominance of small collectives of large federations in the American anarchist movement and was glad to see them speak as they echoed many of the sentiments of others I spoke to and saved me yet another trip to the podium. However, an anarchist analysis of post-industrial forms of capitalism is essential if one is to portray the situation facing western anarchists more accurately. I am not so sure that some of the "older" forms of anarchism are not better suited to certain situations in the East. In the Soviet Union for example, I think that syndicalism is a viable form of anarchism due to the current modes of

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More news from Yugoslavia, Austria, Germany, & Holland

By Stefan Wray

Some weeks ago, I left Italy. It was the last night I was with people from Bound Together Books (in San Francisco). Next morning I took the train to Zagreb. Vladimir did also. He was returning to Moscow. From the station we went directly to a friend's house. There were three people from New York who had also been at the Trieste meeting. We stayed in Zagreb while the Croatian elections were happening. HDZ, a very right-wing Croatian nationalist party, won. Another example of the communist to fascist transition. A women exclaimed, "Look at this. It is just like Mein Kampf!" and proceeded to translate the parts of the HDZ program that she found most appalling. Bussed to the border. Thinking and writing about Autonomen, following discussions with various people about what the Autonomen movement is, how it is very different from country to country, and how it is represented in the US anarchist press. No problems hitching in Austria, contrary to everyone's warnings. Wien people treated me very well. Learned about Austrian anarchists. The small group in Wien is involved with a cafe called Flex. Downstairs in the front is a bar. In back, a space for concerts. Upstairs, meeting room, office and room for printing. Again hitching to München no problem. One night with people from the Infoladen. Stayed up late and had a big long explanation about the German Autonomes. Also many questions about what kinds of opposition exists in the States. People here know very little about this. This is generally true everywhere. Someone in Wien said,

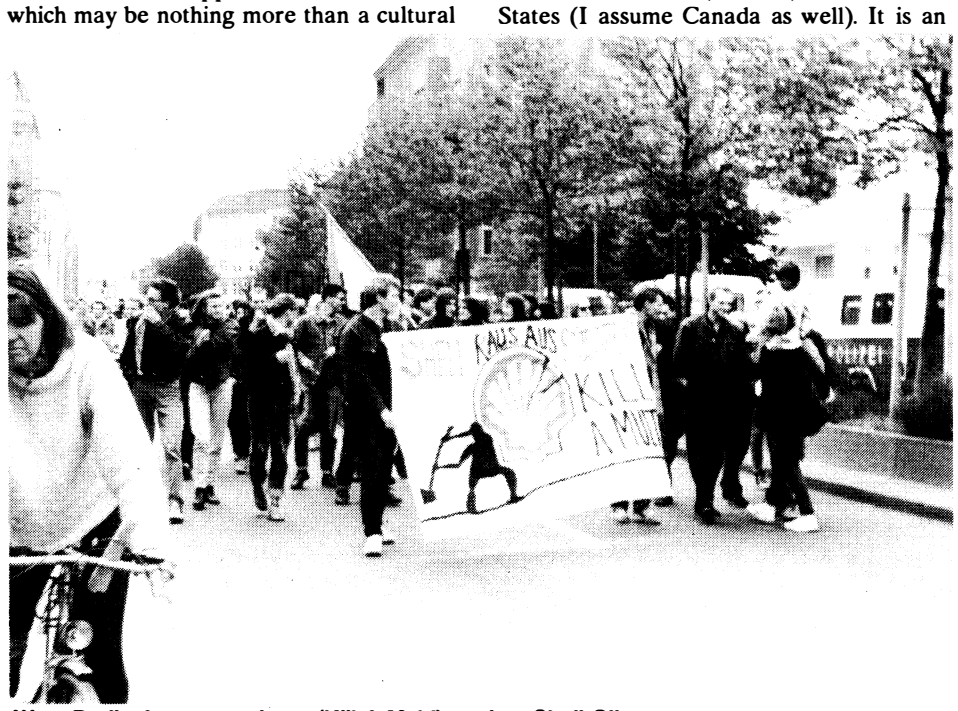
"Concerning anarchist movements in the US, of course we know about Haymarket. In 1986 there was an anarchist film festival in celebration of one hundred years of May 1. But nobody likes the States...everyone here thinks that there are only vegetarians, food co-ops, and pacifists. Soft anarchism. We have no magazines, newspapers or films from the anarchist movement in the States. We don't hear anything. We only hear about Greenpeace, Indian rights and back to nature groups. We've read some critical articles in German papers that some of the ecological/ nature oriented groups have sort of a fascistic viewpoint. But again generally nobody knows about any opposition in America. The last we heard of any real opposition was the anti-Vietnam war and civil rights movements."

At the Infoladen in München was a computer, printer, and photocopy machine. They are part of an initiative to make a computer network amongst the Info-shops, which exist also in Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, for example. They say they are anarchist autonome, distinguishing themselves from the others in the spectrum, as it is called. Last ride to Berlin was with a man and woman from Kassel who wanted to take the slow road through the East German countryside. Actually he was a town planner and was looking at smokestacks, a uranium mine, a toxic lake, trees dead from acid rain, buildings brown from smoke and overflowing landfills. It was like a tour of ecological disasters, an easy tour to make in East Germany. On May 1 in Berlin, official trade union demonstration at the Reichstag left radical demos in East and West Berlin, an encampment at Pottsdammer Platz the old



Squatters encampment at Pottsdammer Platz in West Berlin, reclaiming land that was the center of pre-war Berlin, and trying to prevent Daimler-Benz from building a financial center here. *Photo by Howard Besser.*

center where Daimler-Benz wants to build a big new complex. Radical politics in Berlin is changing. It's starting to mix up, East and West. East Berlin now has more than 50 squats, including people from the West living there. On May 1, after the demo in the East, people left and went to Kreuzberg, where there were 20,000 protesting against Racism, Fascism, Capitalism, etc... Before and after May 1 was a period called Schwarzer Lagen (Black Days) organized by the A Infoladen. Each day was a different topic: Kronstadt, Ecology, Trieste meeting, Resistance within the military... The same group, the A Laden, is also involved with coordination between anarchists in East and West Berlin and Germany as a whole. One thing should be pointed out. Berlin West, specifically Kreuzberg, is city of image. It gives the illusion of radical opposition to some extent, which may be nothing more than a cultural rebellion. Black leather jackets and pants, circle A's scrawled on the walls. According to some though, anarchists are actually very marginal of what is considered radical. Especially those who are actually doing something. One indication of this is that the little shop or store front which the A Laden works out of may have to close due to lack of support and money. I moved into the Schweine Mensa for the next few weeks. It is an old cafeteria on the campus of the Freie Universitat. It was one of many buildings occupied during a long student strike last year. It remains. Most people living there are not students. Now it functions, sort of, as a cafe, meeting place, concert space and home. It's also an information center for the Autonome scene. There was a women's weekend, so the men had to go away. Some of us went to Utrecht in Holland. We thought that we were going to a street festival where a number of squatted houses faced evictions. Even rumors that we would face fights with the police. It ended up being mostly the people from Berlin staying in a very broken down house for two days, avoiding the rain and cold. In Den Haag, we visited a big old factory, a former squat now legalized, that soon will celebrate 10 years. About 35 people live there. The most impressive project is the print shop. They produce a lot of the posters for radical groups in Holland, such as for the anti-Shell campaigns. Incidentally, May 26 is National Anti-Shell Day. There will be sabotage actions, demonstrations, picketlines and blockades at various Shell locations, of course as you know, to protest Shell's complicity with South Africa's apartheid. From Utrecht I came to Amsterdam. Here I met someone who is part of a small group that wants to create an alternative press agency using computers and other hightech devices. They would like to be one point of a European wide network. They envision information about radical actions passing from country to country with greater speed and frequency. Europe is not their only focus, but they say they would like to be connected with Latin America, Africa, Asia and the States (I assume Canada as well). It is an ambitious undertaking and at the moment is still in the idea phase. They expect to start something by 1991. I'm staying with a friend, also from the States, who is involved with the Silo Project. It is nearly one year since this old grain Silo located in the harbor west of central station in Amsterdam has been squatted. It is a big building with many people making different sorts of living or work spaces. Current projects and immediate plans include a bakery, bicycle repair shop, dance studio, rehearsal rooms, recording studio, restaurant and bar, other individual interests range from computer hacking and pirate radio to theater and African music. In one part of the Silo is an eight floor metal and brick tower. From the top one has a panoramic view of Amsterdam, as well as the Shell Research Labs across the harbor. The building is on a dike and has water on both sides. An industrial feeling--barges, ferries, big ships, cranes, etc... My friend has been involved with the Tower renovation the longest. Basically it is the reconstruction of a former machine tower into a livable space being done in an extremely lowcost and labor-intensive way. Materials are found, scavenged or given; tools are borrowed. At the moment it is sort of the immigrants' quarters. Two from the States, a Yugoslav and a New Zealander. They are in the middle of taking apart these big machines with wrenches, grinders and torches. Immediate plans are to make a kitchen, put in sky lights, put glass in the windows, install doors. Doors, sinks, glass, wood, paint,...are all found. We talked about the possibility of the Tower becoming a kind of connecting point in an informal European-North American network. Something that covers a range of interests: radical politics, music, theater, scavenging. One thought is to have this happen on a personal level. To be a place where travelers who want to find out about interesting projects, groups, initiatives, actions, performances, etc...can come. Well, at the moment these are late night ideas. There still needs to be running water. I've carved out a place to sleep. Had to take parts from a few machines and clean up the pigeon shit. Found plexiglass, carpets, mattresses and other odds and ends in the trash. I'm expecting to be working for another friend, either painting a house or working on a boat. Nothing is definite, but if I am able to make a little money and if I get this personal invitation visa, I am going to the Soviet Union sometime during the last weeks in June and until the end of July. There will be an anarchist camp out near a small village somewhere between Leningrad and Moscow. Right now my memory fails me. It is either the former house of Kropotkin or Bakunin. Sorry. In any case, it will be renovation work. I'm excited about this possibility. I hope I can carry through with it. I've written to Bound Together and asked them to send a load of magazines or even some books for me to take with. I have the idea to set up a small North American Anarchist Library at this camp and then afterwards to give them all the materials. Some of them can speak or read English. If I can do this I think I will be able to send back a more detailed article about Anarchism in the Soviet Union. I apologize for the superficial or sketchiness of this article.



West Berlin Autonome demo (Kill-A-Multi) against Shell Oil. *Photo by Howard Besser.*

Continued on page 15

The Revolution of Everyday Life

Chapter 5

by Raoul Vaneigem

The impossibility of participation:
Power as sum of constraints

The mechanisms of attrition and destruction: humiliation (Chapter two), isolation (three), suffering (four), work (five), decompression (six).

The decline and fall of work

The obligation to produce alienates the passion for creation. Productive labour is part and parcel of the technology of law and order. The working day grows shorter as the empire of conditioning expands.

In an industrial society which confuses work and productivity, the necessity of producing has always been an enemy of the desire to create. What spark of humanity, of a possible creativity, can remain alive in a being dragged out of sleep at six every morning, jolted about in suburban trains, deafened by the racket of machinery, bleached and steamed by meaningless sounds and gestures, spun dry by statistical controls, and tossed out at the end of the day into the entrance halls of railway stations, those cathedrals of departure for the hell of weekdays and the nugatory paradise of weekends, where the crowd communes in a brutish weariness? From adolescence to retirement each twenty-four hour cycle repeats the same shattering bombardment, like bullets hitting a window: mechanical repetition, time-which-is-money, submission to bosses, boredom, exhaustion. From the butchering of youth's energy to the gaping wound of old age, life cracks in every direction under the blows of forced labour. Never before has a civilization reached such a degree of contempt for life; never before has a generation, drowned in mortification, felt such a rage to live. The same people who are murdered slowly in the mechanized slaughterhouses of work are also arguing, singing, drinking, dancing, making love, holding the streets, picking up weapons and inventing a new poetry. Already the front against forced labour is being formed; its gestures of refusal are moulding the consciousness of the future. Every call for productivity under the conditions chosen by capitalist and Soviet economics is a call to slavery.

The necessity of production is so easily proved that any hack philosopher of industrialism can fill ten books with it. Unfortunately for our neoeconomist thinkers, these proofs belong to the nineteenth century, a time when the misery of the working classes made the right to work the counterpart of the right to be a slave, claimed at the dawn of time by prisoners about to be massacred. Above all it was a question of surviving, of not disappearing physically. The imperatives of production are the imperatives of survival; from now on people want to live, not just to survive.

The *tripalium* is an instrument of torture. The Latin word *labor* means 'suffering'. We are unwise to forget this origin of the words 'travail' and 'labour'. At least the nobility never forgot their own dignity and the indignity which marked their bondsmen. The aristocratic contempt for work reflected the master's contempt for the dominated classes; work was the expiation to which they were condemned to all eternity by the divine decree which had willed them, for impenetrable reasons, to be inferior. Work took its place among the sanctions of Providence as the punishment for poverty, and, because it was the means to a future salvation, such a punishment could take on the attributes of pleasure. Basically, though, work was less important than submission.

The bourgeoisie does not dominate, it exploits. It does not need to be master, it prefers to *use*. Why has nobody seen that the principle of productivity simply replaced the principle of feudal authority? Why has nobody wanted to understand this?

Is it because work ameliorates the human condition and saves the poor, at least in illusion, from eternal damnation? Undoubtedly, but today it seems that the carrot of happier tomorrows has smoothly replaced the carrot of salvation in the next world. In both cases the *present* is always under the heel of oppression.

Is it because it transforms nature? Yes, but what can I do with a nature ordered in terms of profit and loss, a world where the inflation of techniques conceals the deflation of the use-value of life? Besides; just as the sexual act is not intended to procreate, but makes children by accident, organized labour transforms the surface of continents as a by-product, not a purpose. Work to transform the world? Bullshit. The world is being transformed in the direction prescribed by the existence of forced labour; which is why it is being transformed so badly.

Perhaps man realizes himself through his forced labour? In the nineteenth century the concept of work retained a vestige of the notion of creativity. Zola describes a nailsmiths' contest in which the workers competed in the perfection of their tiny masterpiece. Love of the trade and the vitality of an already

> ***'Nowadays ambition and the love of a job well done are the indelible mark of defeat and of the most mindless submission.'***

smothered creativity incontestably helped people to bear ten or fifteen hours, which nobody could have stood if some kind of pleasure had not slipped in. The survival of the craft conception allowed each worker to contrive a precarious comfort in the hell of the factory. But Taylorism dealt the death-blow to a mentality which had been carefully fostered by archaic capitalism. It is useless to expect even a caricature of creativity from the conveyor-belt. Nowadays ambition and the love of a job well done are the indelible mark of defeat and of the most mindless submission. Which is why, wherever submission is demanded, the stale fart of ideology makes headway, from the *Arbeit Macht Frei* of the concentration camps to the homilies of Henry Ford and Mao Tse-tung.

So what is the function of forced labour? The myth of power exercised jointly by the master and God drew its coercive force from the unity of the feudal system. Destroying the unitary myth, the fragmented power of the

> ***'The organization of work and the organization of leisure are the blades of the castrating shears whose job is to improve the race of fawning dogs.'***

bourgeoisie inaugurated, under the flag of crisis, the reign of ideologies, which can never attain, separately or together, a fraction of the efficacy of myth. The dictatorship of productive work stepped into the breach. Its mission is to weaken the majority of people physically, to castrate and stupefy them collectively and so make them receptive to the feeblest, least virile, most senile ideologies in the entire history of falsehood.

Most of the proletariat at the beginning of the nineteenth century had been physically diminished, systematically broken by the torture of the workshop. Revolts came from artisans, from privileged or unemployed groups, not from workers shattered by fifteen hours of labour. Significantly, the reduction of working time came just when the ideological variety show produced by consumer society seemed able to provide an effective replacement for the feudal myths destroyed by the young bourgeoisie. (People really have worked for a refrigerator, a car, a television set. Many still do, 'invited' as they are to consume the passivity and the empty time that the 'necessity' of production 'offers' them.)

Statistics published in 1938 indicated that the use of the most modern technology would reduce necessary working time to three hours a day. Not only are we a long way off with our seven hours, but after wearing out generations of workers by promising them the happiness which is sold today on the installment plan, the bourgeoisie (and its Soviet equivalent) pursue man's destruction outside the workshop. Tomorrow they will deck out their five hours of necessary wear and tear with a time of 'creativity' which will grow just as fast as they can fill it with the impossibility of creating anything (the famous 'leisure explosion').

It has been quite correctly said that, "China faces gigantic economic problems; for her, productivity is a matter of life and death". Nobody would dream of denying it. What seems important to me is not the economic imperatives, but the manner of responding to them. The Red Army in 1917 was a new kind of organization. The Red Army in 1960 is an army such as is found in capitalist countries. Circumstances proved that its effectiveness remained far below the potential of a revolutionary militia. In the same way, the planned Chinese economy, by refusing to allow federated groups to organize their work autonomously, condemns itself to becoming another example of the perfected form of capitalism called socialism. Has anyone bothered to study the approaches to work of primitive peoples, the importance of play and creativity, the incredi-



Photo by Mikell Zhan

ble yield obtained by methods which the application of modern technology would make a hundred times more efficient? Obviously not. Every appeal for productivity comes from above. But only creativity is spontaneously rich. It is not from 'productivity' that a full life is to be expected, it is not 'productivity' that will produce an enthusiastic response to economic needs. But what can we say when we know how the cult of work is honoured from Cuba to China, and how well the virtuous pages of Guizot would sound in a May Day speech?

To the extent that automation and cybernetics foreshadow the massive replacement of workers by mechanical slaves, forced labour is revealed as belonging purely to the barbaric practices needed to maintain order. Power manufactures the dose of fatigue necessary for the passive assimilation of its televised diktats. What carrot is worth working for, after this? The game is up; there is nothing to lose any more, not even an illusion. The organization of work and the organization of leisure are the blades of the castrating shears whose job is to improve the race of fawning dogs. One day, perhaps, we shall see strikers, demanding automation and a ten hour week, choosing, instead of picketing, to make love in the factories, the offices and the culture centres. Only the planners, the managers, the union bosses and the sociologists would be surprised and worried. Not without reason; after all, their skin is at stake.

More news from Yugoslavia, Austria, Germany & Holland

Continued from page 13

But many things have happened in a short span of time and at the moment I am not in the right mood or environment to write something more in-depth. There is more to be said about the problems of nationalism in Europe particularly in the East right now, rising fascism, the situation of squatters' movements in different countries, the reaction of the German "left" to the reunification of Germany, the autonomist movements, and some of the issues that anarchists find themselves working on, but hopefully others, either North Americans travelling in Europe or Europeans wanting to spread news about these subjects, will write more on this. One final comment. Since I've been in Europe, which at the time of this writing is 15 months, a common theme which arises in conversations is the poor communication that exists within the anarchist movement, both within Europe and between Europe, North America and other continents. The subject of communication is spoken about in a way which always says that it definitely needs improvement. This is taken as a given assumption. It was no surprise that this is much of what was talked about in Trieste. One outcome is that there will be another meeting at the end of July in Berlin to specifically focus on communication between the anarchist movements in Europe and North America. There are at least 4 people from the States who will already be in Europe at this time. That sounds small, but this is to be a working meeting, not a monster gathering. The idea is that a group of perhaps thirty or so will meet for three days to discuss and make plans for constructive ways to increase the flow of information between the two places. There are a number of different more regional or national information networks in Europe and North America now, but generally they remain disconnected from the others. So in a sense this Berlin meeting is about networking amongst networks. While it is inevitable or unavoidable that things like computer/modem or fax links are necessary, the intention is not to solely focus on this, but to think about communication in a broader sense and to try to develop or be a catalyst in the development of some "system" of information exchange that operates on many levels: computers, fax, telephones, post, correspondence, personal visits, travelling presentations. People from Bound Together are doing a sort of road show now. They have a video of the SF gathering and a stack of publications. They will go from Italy to Greece and then north to Germany by July. Well, I am running out of paper and time. I have to leave very soon for the Silo. Then we have an hour bike ride to the festival on the outskirts of town. If things go as I hope they do, you should hear more about the anarchist camp-out in the Soviet Union and about this Berlin meeting, and other things that happen. Something else that I forgot. Next weekend in north of Holland is the annual Dutch Anarchist Camp out for three days. Maybe I'll go to this. So. That is all for now.

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No future for the workplace

By Bob Black

The best future for the workplace, as for the battlefield, is none at all. With belated notice taken of a crisis in the workplace, the consultants surge forth with faddish reforms whose common denominator is that they excite little interest in the workplace itself. Done to—not won by—the workers, they are very much business as usual for business. They may raise productivity temporarily till the novelty wears off, but tinkering with the who, what, when and where of work doesn't touch the source of the malaise: **why** work?

Changing the place of work to the home is like emigrating from Romania to Ethiopia in search of a better life. Flextime is for professionals who, as the office joke goes, can work any sixty hours a week they like. It is not for the service sector where the greatest numbers toil; it will not do for fry cooks to flex their prerogatives at the lunch hour nor bus drivers at rush hour. Job enrichment is part pep rally, part painkiller—uplift and aspirin. Even workers' control, which most American managers find unthinkable, is only self-managed servitude, like letting prisoners elect their own guards.

For Western employers as for outgoing Eastern European dictators, **glasnost** and **perestroika** are too little and too late. Measures that would have been applauded by 19th century socialist and anarchist militants (indeed, that's whom they were cribbed from by the consultants) at best meet now with sullen indifference, and at worst are taken as signs of weakness. Especially for American bosses, relatively backward in management style as in other ways, concessions would only arouse expectations they cannot fulfill and yet remain in charge. The democracy movements worldwide have swept away the small fry. The only enemy is the common enemy. The workplace is the last bastion of authoritarian coercion. Disenchantment with work runs as deeply here as disenchantment with Communism in the East. Indeed many were not all that enchanted to begin with. Why did they submit? Why do we? We have no choice.

There is far more evidence of a revolt against work than there had been of a revolt against Communism. Were it otherwise, there would be no market for tranquilizers like job redesign or job enrichment. The worker at work, as to a tragic extent off the job, is passive-aggressive. Not for him the collective solidarity heroics of labor's past. But absenteeism, job-jumping, theft of goods and services, self-sedation with drink or drugs, and effort so perfunctory it may cross the line to count as sabotage—these are how the little fish emulate the big fish who market junk bonds and loot S&Ls. What if there was a general strike—and it proved permanent because it made no demands, it was **already** the satisfaction of all demands? There was a time the unions could have thwarted anything like that, but they don't count any more.

The future belongs to the zero-work movement, should one well up, unless its object is impossible because work is inevitable. Do not even the consultants and the techno-futurologists at their most fantastic take work for granted? Indeed they do, which is reason enough to be sceptical. They never yet foresaw a future that came to pass. They prophesied moving sidewalks and single-family air-cars, not computers and recombinant DNA. Their American Century was Japanese before it was half over. Futurologists are always wrong because they are only extrapolators, the limit of their vision is more of the same—although history (the record of previous futures) is replete with discontinuities, with surprises like Eastern Europe. Attend to the utopians instead. Since they believe life could be different, what they say just might be true.

"Work," referring to what workers do, should not be confused with exertion; play can be more strenuous than work. Work is compulsory production, something done for some other reason than the satisfaction of doing it. That other reason might be violence (slavery), dearth (employment) or an internalized compulsion (the Calvinist's "calling," the Buddhist's "right livelihood," the Syndicalist's duty to serve the People). Unlike the play-impulse, none of these motives maximizes our productive potential; work is not very productive although output is its only justification. Enter the consultants with their toys.

Although it does not have to be, play can be productive, so forced labor may not be necessary. When we work we produce without pleasure so as to consume without creating—containers drained and filled, drained and filled, like the locks of a canal. Job enrichment? The phrase implies a prior condition of job impoverishment which debunks the myth of work as a source of wealth. Work devalues life by appropriating something so priceless it cannot be brought back no matter how high the GNP is.

Life enrichment, on the other hand, consists of the suppression of many jobs and the recreation, in every sense, of the others as activities intrinsically enjoyable—if not to every one for any length of time, then for some people, at some times, in some circumstances. Work standardizes people as it does products, but since people by nature strive to produce themselves, work wastes effort lost to conflict and stress. Play is pluralistic, bringing **into play** the full panoply of talents and passions submerged by work and anaesthetized by leisure. The work-world frowns on job-jumping, the play-oriented or **ludic** life encourages hobby-hopping. As their work-conditioning wears off, more and more people will feel more and more aptitudes unfolding like the colorful wings of a brand-new butterfly, and the ludic mode of production will be the more firmly consolidated.

You say you love your job? Fine. Keep doing it. Your sort will help tide us over during the transition. We feel sorry for you, but we respect your choice as much as we suspect it's rooted in refusal to admit your present prodigious efforts made life (especially yours) no better, they only made life seem to go by faster. You were coping in your own way: you were trying to get it over with.

With the abolition of work the economy is, in effect, abolished. Complementing play as a mode of production is **the gift** as a system of distribution. Replacing today's Teamsters hauling freight will be Welcome Wagons visiting friends and bearing gifts. Why go to the trouble to buy and sell? Too much paperwork. Too much **work**.

Although the consultants are inept as reformists they might make magnificent revolutionaries. They rethink work, whereas workers want to think about anything but. But they must rethink their own jobs first. For them to transfer their loyalties to the workers might not be too difficult—it's expedient to join the winning side—but they will find it harder to acknowledge that in the end the experts on work are the workers who do it. Especially the workers who refuse to.



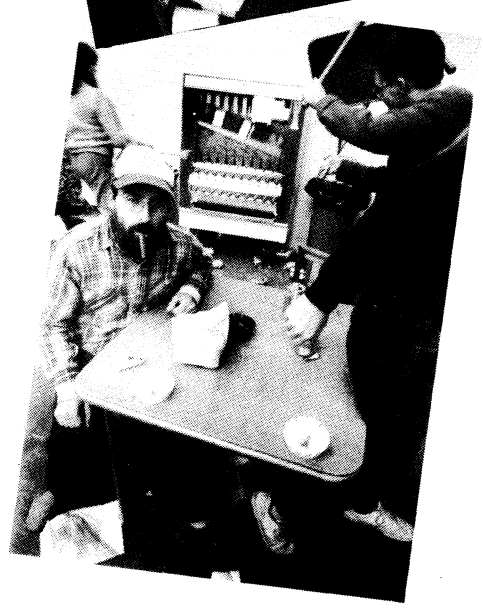
From Black Eye Press (c/o 92 Pike, Seattle, WA. 98101).

Venderman









Poem by Avid Darkly
Photos by Mikell Zhan

The noises of the day below:
constant cutting, boring, screwing, and
imagination's own electrical pursuant pleasures?

It's the venderman and his dealing band
whose scam, whose hustle it is to peddle the unnecessary,
whether they be obnoxiously noisy hammer-yammer
or little balls of chocolate delight.

He and his, strategically invade all sanctums
through planes or waves in successful venture
of selling crap and capitalizing on nothing.

Make junk necessary, indispensable,
unavoidable and bloat and gloat!

I've been screwed, I've been hammer-yammered,
and am ripping.

I'm bored with the vulgarity of you vendermann,
and it cuts me to think of the waste you work!

If it would work, if it, too, would not cumulate in waste:
candy machine sabotage, cigarette machine sabotage,
carbonated soda sarsaparilla pop machine sabotage,
coffee-and-chocolate machine sabotage, soup machine
sabotage,
sherbet-and-ice cream machine sabotage, pastry machine
sabotage,
coin'o'mat machine sabotage, war machine sabotage!
Picture cards and buckets of lard machine sabotage!
The automatic, bureaumatic, instamatic, depersonalizing,
debasing, defacing, raping-us machine ***sabotage!***

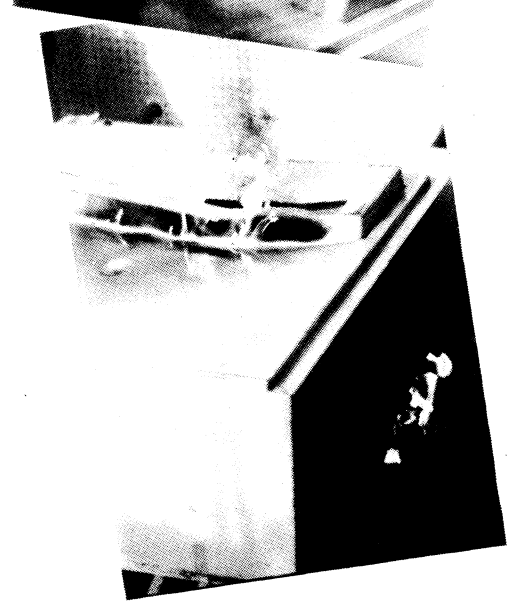
If they knew, below, my up here thoughts, so near,
they would summons the ultimate machinery and
rip and hammer and saw and sell and hustle and
screw and cut and bore a hole in my head and
incarcerate me some place in their hell below...

Venderman, you demon, dealer of demand and retribution!
A bomb for you in each coin box!
A dime for devastation!

1973







Take things from work:

The Strategy of Appearance
The Audacity of Real Life As A Tactic

by bp ummfatik

"Take stuff from work/ It's the best way to feel better about your job/ Never buy pens, pencils, paper/ Take them from work.../ It's the best way to feel better about your low pay & appalling working conditions."
—King Missile Dog Fly Religion, "Take Stuff From Work"

"From the butchering of youth's energy to the gaping wounds of old age, life cracks in every direction under the blows of forced labor. Never before has a civilization reached such a degree of contempt for life; never before has a generation drowned in mortification, felt such a rage to live."
—Raoul Vaneigem, ***Revolution of Everyday Life***

It is here, in a grey mizzly land, holed up far away from the fray, with a bottle of courage to my left, that I write you this account of my time done—& undone—at a Manhattan firm over a period of 5 years.

I needn't brag about my crime to prop it up as significant. In hindsight it has gained a resonance usually reserved for premeditated treason. My crime was much more than delinquency or crimes against property, yet it wasn't really a crime at all! More a counter-friction against the murderous inertia of work, the self-martyring delusion of workaholism that inevitably tempers the fear of living by maiming the spirit.

Prior to this job I'd been axed from 3 of 4 jobs & I'd never worked at any one place for more than one and a half years. I'd just been fired from my warehouse job where muscle and theories of work developed inversely proportional to my dwindling bank account. The owners were of the tribe who believed idleness = theft. Psychotics of accountability who desperately sought busy work for me. There's nothing that arouses my ire like busy work for suck pay.

"Capitalism shows itself to be a system that organizes work in demeaning ways. It requires submission to a...system [that] 'reduces the activity of labor to dismembered gestures' &...this subordination is veiled by talk of industries 'giving' employment to their workers as if that were a favor. The tyranny of employment is thus ubiquitous, elusive, & sinister, a tyranny."
—Elizabeth Wolfgast, "All Bosses Are Tyrants," review of ***Behind the Veil of Economics*** by Robert Heilbroner in the **NY Times Book Review**

That I worked at any one place for 5 years is a miracle of sorts, a miracle not to brag about & is best explained by recounting my snatching the fruits that hung ripe from the vine.

This place is what I thought heaven was like—if god had been an interior decorator. Carpeting, blonde wood, convertible couch, air conditioning, lush but functional, spacious & outfitted with every electronic gadget; fridge, coffeemaker, word processor, copy machines, VCR, even an electric pencil sharpener. And the liberal bigwigs romanticized their own youthful days of poverty & thus tried to "empathize." And thus the fringe, at times, forget the low wage.

*"...they present every scheme...to give the worker the **feeling** that he is more than a cog in the industrial machine while making sure that effective control...is kept out of the hands of the man on the factory floor."*
—Colin Ward, ***Anarchy in Action***

Yeah, ok, the official fringe benefits were the baited hooks for fish like me. Humanize & decorate a low wage. But my wage was so low that it effectively kept all heat off my back. I seldom had to account for my time. I recommend the shadows. I wasn't interested in "advancement." Misguided ambition usually only leads to accountability, which means headaches, work your ass off to justify your new salary (= title + wage calculated weekly + own stationary + health club + other ego fodder - overtime + maybe a watch when you jump ship.) Which creates a false sense of importance that will allow them to steal overtime & hometime. You'll take your job home like tracking dogshit in off the street onto your carpet.

"A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior. The man whose lower level needs (food, shelter) are satisfied...shifts to the social and egotistic needs. Unless there are opportunities at work to satisfy these higher value needs, people will be deprived...[& begin to] make insistent demands for more money. It becomes more important than ever to buy material goods which can provide limited satisfaction of thwarted needs."
—Douglas MacGregor, "Human Side of Behavior"

They originally hired me to fold, staple, stuff & stamp off the books so it didn't affect unemployment. And my keen eye-psycho-motor skills led to an offer out of that drudgery into the overhyped world of computers. A data processor isn't much more than a glorified typist, a drone, a fleshy bloodshot extension of a memory machine.

"The industrial energy destroys our best pleasures because it sucks up our time—time has become the greatest luxury of the moment. Energy eats up time that's needed for its product, its use, its domination & control."
—P.M., ***Bolo Bolo***

So I was no longer a temp. I got "permanent" status, I was part of the team. I had W-2s, benefits & title.

What I retrieved: time. Why? If you don't re-appropriate time you grow old, mechanical, bitter, dreamless. Without time, money becomes underutilized/ over-fetishized & buys synthetic somas that attempt to replace lost time. You become a weekend warrior living for scientifically designed moments of recovery/shopping with indulgent vengeance, partying hard to gain that special amnesia.

How? Take worktime & make something else of it as part of a total makeover in your relationships to employment. Sacrifice & self-delusionary martyring drop out of your wardrobe. You develop skills, adaptable tactics, a change in expectations. You sharpen a certain audacity.

Appearances: What I became good at was carving out a function, or more accurately, a nebulous appearance of function. I merely took the major ploy of poli-techno-commodity mediums—*Appearances*—& turned it back upon itself. They pretended that my work had purpose so I pretended to work. Just like arrows are bent in cartoons so they boomerang back to hit the archer in the butt.

Not that I didn't put in some time of actual labor. I did. I became expert at things mechanical & electro-mystifying. And here I created the appearance that I was necessary, indispensable, the oil on the squeak. I did this, for instance, with periodic showy rescues at the copy machine. I peppered my day with flurries of furious work. This created indelible images in the minds of bosses.

"...doing something which appears to promulgate one idea while actually encouraging another...using an oblique strategy rather than a frontal assault."
—V. Vale, "Pranks," **RE/Search #11**

Toner change, 2-sided copying, just ask me. No one took the time to learn the machines so my knowledge made me not unlike a Mayan priest who holds the secrets of the calendar close to the vest. *My being* there became as important as anything I actually did. It was more than savvy. It was SOS. The appearance of involvement & diligence breeds supervisor confidence & bosses will be grateful that you appear to work thus not calling their hiring judgements into doubt. They prefer this deception to ulcerous intra-office confrontations. This type of prowess allowed me to transform the workplace—like metaphysical redecorating—into my own recreation room for fun, freedom & exploitation.

Adventures of Time Retrieval: The hump of my work-a-jerk (my job description always remained vague, a long list of non-quantifiable functions) was input/update of computer data. And again no one had time to keep track of my progress. So I began organically, as if part of the same dance step, to scoop out chunks of time for myself.

When test data about VDT fatigue & other symptoms began to appear I was able to trump it up allowing me official breaks every 30 minutes or so. This afforded me even more time because no one was aware of when I began & stopped these shifts which emboldened me to take even greater liberties. Freedom intoxicates. It tastes good. & so I hauled in things into my routine I used to do at home; typing, editing, layout, writing letters, clipping articles, so that my day became anything but routine.

Furtive snatches became huge public swatches of time. Audacity intensified the adventure. Chunks of work time got chiseled & re-sculpted into personal time, & over time I actually made the de-colonization of time look like part of my job description.

Time is *not* money: It's *more* than money. I managed to eventually finagle my work week into three 10 hour days while maintaining fulltime benefits. Because much of my apparent function was commanding the computer with cryptic instructions to analyze & compile data & produce print-outs that often tied up the computer for long stretches.

This new work schedule "gave" me not only 4 day weekends but 10 hours weekly, as well, when no one was in the office. So while I babysat the dinosaur computer spitting out pounds and mounds of tangible proof of my indispensability, all pretension to drudge work went out the window along with any masks of diligence I might've been wearing. So I'd de-colonized 10 hours & now *their* office became *my* workpad.

Other time tactics: Use the typewriter. Whatever you are typing you will

look busy & no one will look over your shoulder. Audacity plugs into employer fears of what they don't want to know.

Learn the word processor. Develop your own files on your own floppy—address book, form letters, post-industrial grunge rap lyrics.

Stretch your lunch hour within inconveniencing other drones. Slip out without fanfare. Add 15 minutes to each end. Take flexible, weird lunch hours.

"I get around a rock that stands in my way until I have power enough to blast it; I get around the laws of the people, till I have gathered the strength to overthrow them..."
—Max Stirner quoted in ***Anarchism: Old & New*** by Gerald Runkle

I did this *organically*, vaguely, non-greedily. I made it appear natural, as if my personal life was an extension of the workday when, in fact, it was much the opposite.

Lost time gets found: Like lint under furniture. Your showy flourishes of drudge work—a 2 minute tap dance for the warden-can be partially reclaimed too by being on the phone with a lovebird.

Read. Listen to the radio. Sew a button. Clip your nails. Your interest in things will be contagious. Encourage intra-office speculation, sports bets, headline poetry. Be a good listener. Likability will give you even more kudos to squander time. Killed time turned to leisure is good. Kick your shoes off. Informality turns the power tables. Ignore dress codes. Tell her to kick her high heels off. Massage her feet while she balances her checkbook & brags to her sister about what she gets away with. Watch her do her nails, fix a run. Remind them of the erotic. It knows no schedule. It kills the logic of routine. Make personal contact seem a vital aspect of office functioning. Hierarchy is power by division. Make it so natural that it would be inhumane & bad for morale—party pooper syndrome—if "petty" limitations were suddenly placed on fun, gossip, pranks, singing, listening to ballgames.

"And he spake unto them do violence to no man...& be content with thy wages."
—***Bible***

"Mysticism's function is clearly articulated; to divert attention from daily misery...to prevent a revolt against the real causes of one's misery."
—Wilhelm Reich, ***The Mass Psychology of Fascism***

Even agnostics utilize guilt, the work ethic, the church's legacies of worker control, to shepherd the flock. So deconstruct the work ethic propaganda as the ticket, if not to paradise then to bigger X-mas bonuses. Turn the guilt back upon the bosses. Let the snake eat its own tail. Make them too ashamed to stop all that living.

I took time to use their phone books, ***Bartlett's Famous Quotations***, reference books, computer software to hunt for contacts, type labels, prepare envelopes, doing every gritty aspect of personal projects there.

Don't hesitate to invite sexy/dynamic friends to make "surprise" visits. Then hang out on company time. Give them a tour, introduce them. Your friends will smash the dull routine of the day & they will be grateful. Make them envious, curious & *part* of your squandered time. Robust hugs and kisses will vicariously re-orient the office dynamic, stir the psycho-dust like a bouquet introduced into a room of stale air. No one will deny you this pleasantry. In fact, they may subliminally hint for more. Organic & non-braggadocio is best. Be random & periodic. Don't deaden this surprise by making it a habit.

What time did I come in? Who knows. If someone *did* notice it's better for them to think there must have been a reason. Be audacious here. Again, don't inconvenience others but act not as if it's owed to you, act as if the time is already yours.

By the time I filled in monthly timesheets the last of the month I had "worked" All my hours. No one had time to care if I came in late 3 Tuesdays ago. And if you need to express your lateness express it in terms of adventure, sexual liaisons (Remember what the blues did for the word "work"?), club crawling, dancing with Madonna's maid. Make the lateness excusable by virtue of your lifestyle which lies beyond timeclocks. Your adventures must amuse to get others on the vicarious ride. Your lifestyle can be your passport to even further time gouging.

"The work machine doesn't care if it's managed by trans-national corporations or state bureaucracies, its goal is the same everywhere: steal our time to produce steel."
—P.M., ***Bolo Bolo***

The ass end of the day was now mine. I could eat, tack on time, leave hours early for a beer rendezvous.

Now, I don't want it to appear as though I did *all* of this consciously as part of some political agenda. I never got up on a soapbox, demanded nor pontificated. Dogma is, after all, an emotional sort of fascism, a romantic attachment to old styles of revolt. Showy protests are for nostalgic martyrs who need a resume of scars & baited martyrdom.

"The conscious withdrawal of efficiency."
—An effective Wobbly tactic

The acts were not full of agenda and mendacity. It was simply a biopsychological imperative. My life was just too damn full to accommodate useless work. And once the soul tastes freedom the mind figures ways to feed it. I simply needed all I took to amplify life beyond the cliches of mere survival.

How much: After less than 2 years I'd managed to whittle my work week down to 15 hours! My workday hovered around 5 to 6 hours of appropriated time. 1.5 hours daily of personal typing. One hour of copying. Two hours of personal time (late arrival, early departure, errands, buy toothbrush, etc.) 1.5 hours of "squandered" time (reading, games, talk, history, phones, etc.), reappropriated time re-tooled for satisfaction.

In my last 8 months work became the mere ghost of an afterthought. My mode totally shifted into the overdrive of personal life—sans guilt or fear!

As employment nears the end of its usefulness you must decide whether to get fired for unemployment or go out with full benefits. You must use up accumulated sick or "sick of work" days because you can't take them with you. Sickdays further cut my workweek (increased to 40 hours to save money in my last 6 months) down to 15! Work

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THINKING ABOUT CHANGING CAREERS?



Then think about this...



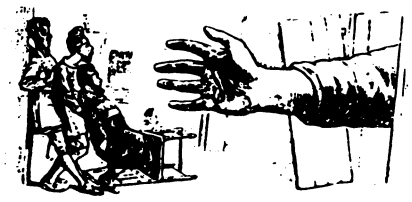


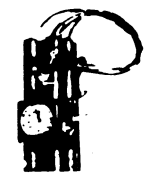
95% of all the work done in this world is done for the purposes of creating more work. In other words, work has little to do with life. It doesn't create life, nor does it celebrate life. Instead, work appropriates life, our lives, and we comply, selling off the time of our lives in exchange for empty things that have no meaning other than as symbols of living death.

We humans have created a planetary work machine that functions according to the principle of constant growth. Like living beings, this technological and industrial machine grows by being fed. Its food is the prostituted labour of women and men. This machine has long since passed any resemblance to fulfilling human needs. *In fact, this machine creates needs; needs we never had before, or even wanted.*

But don't let the size of this machine fool you into thinking that it is now out of our control, like some berserk Frankenstein running amok.Certainly it can appear that way. Certainly the machine is more effective if you see it that way.







Yet appearances are deceiving. As big as this machine has become, it still depends on the everyday labour of men and women for its continued existence and growth. Ecocide, starvation and war, as well our own constant alienation and separation from nature and each other, cannot very well continue if this machine becomes defunct; if us women and men stop working. It's as simple as calling in sick. Everyday.

Oh sure, there's a lot to be resolved if life on this planet is going to have any real meaning for ourselves. But opting out of participation in the planetary work machine is a great way to get a head start!

So when you think about changing your career, why not consider a career in desire, filled with life, joy and poetry? Why not consider a career in total revolution?

Let's move into the world where the bottom line is not economic.but *ecstatic!*





WorkResistersLeague

a public secret from Eleutheros Prod., an equal opportunity unemployer

POB 2265, Albany, NY. 12220

Take things from work

Continued from previous page

time = 37%. What could be better than getting paid to go to the zoo or have sex at noon!

Over time I'd convinced them too that since I didn't work Mondays that all Monday holidays should be tacked on to my vacation time!

Money: Although it's not time, it can amplify time, allow the victory of time to be a celebration.

When one takes time back one steals money. They go hand in pocket. For instance, I'd whittled my work week down from 30 hours to 15 hours. This means wording half the time for twice the bucks. And I wasn't through yet!

Ah, those monthly timesheets with their incredible fabrications. My fictions became fantasies of time travel. Adjusted times became funny floating abstractions that merely appeared to represent worked time. And if overtime isn't taboo add an hour now & then. The job was a sweetheart job & I was a no-show, a mere holographic figment of industriousness.

"Who first invented work—& tied the free... to this dry drudgery of the desk's dead wood?"
—Charles Lamb

Wealth Re-distribution Tactics: Become the office go-fer. Most functionaries find it demeaning. So it's yours. But don't volunteer your 1st day!

My official title was "data technician." I invented it. It sounded good. But I was so much less, thus so much *more*.

Go-fers get to buy office supplies. On every trip to the store you can toss in a datebook, marker, etc for yourself. Go-fers get to go outside where time becomes even more yours. Hand deliveries mean wandering the Village, stops at bookstores, visiting friends. Have a drink! Dream, wander, sit in the park. Any lateness can always be blamed on the subways. Fire on the Uptown 6. News at 11.

I went for cards, party supplies, boss' personal errands. At Woolworth's add a cassette. No one has the time—it's NYC!—or the inclination to check receipts. They're just glad someone'll do the banking, braving not only sleet & oven heat but euphoric fall days. & I did it right. Kept the office chuckling with risque cards, funky presents. It became part of the process of subversion that became my job description.

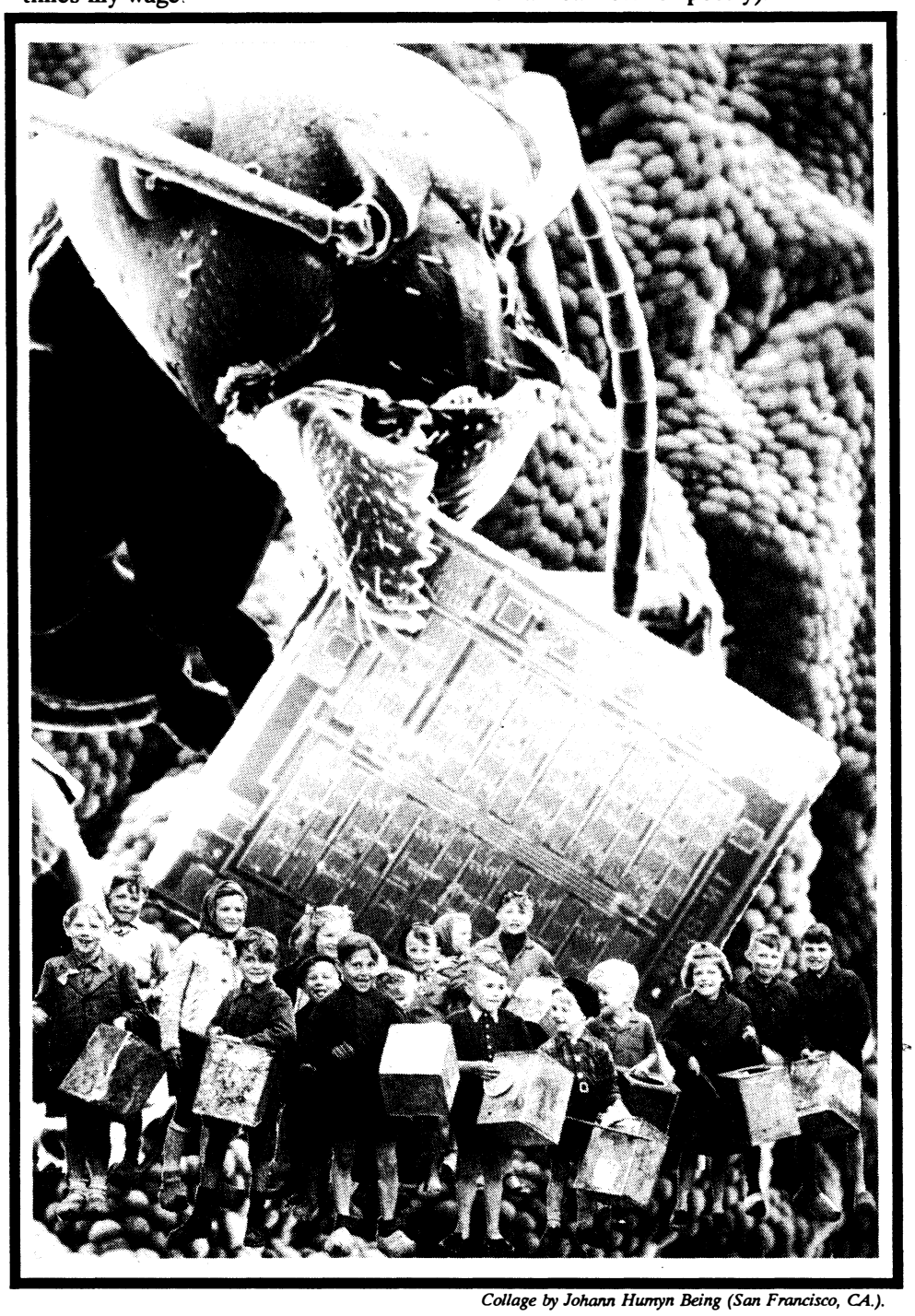
If you're artistic don't be afraid to get some mileage out of the secret envy/ awe straight America has for creativity. Partly because life & creativity are effectively segregated to amplify frustration & consumerism. So if you've survived school your creative life somehow begins to supersede work.

If you can establish yourself in a non-uppity way as an entertaining eccentric, as someone a little special, a mascot, it can win extra liberties. Your inability to keep exact hours will be excused by your proclivities, your higher calling. Your mystified creative process arouses their hidden longings, forgotten dreams. Everyone has a novel or film in them & you represent that possibility.

Offer your expertise with design problems, logos, layout, proofing, scrapbooks, computer graphics. Use your imagination. Free-lance at your job. It pays more. But at the same time it'll save them money. & free-lance hours, who knows how long it takes an artist to do certain tasks?

I was able to do a number of special projects at home where I racked up incredible hours. And no one doubted my hours. An artist's hours aren't quantifiable, especially over months of forgetfulness. I also worked a hotline which required writing accurately worded reports & sending them to various agencies. This I did free-lance too—while at work! So 5 to 10 hours a month I was making two and a half times my wage.

"Let come what will, I'll try it on / my condition can't be worse / & if there's money in that box / tis munny in my purse"
—Black Bart, the "Po8" (Charles E. Bolton, successful stagecoach robber with a weakness for poetry).



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

"Tools are extensions of a person & are used to extend that person's energy or creativity into the world of material transformation. Machines are extensions of an institutional energy or purpose. People use tools, but are used by machines."
—Ivan Illich, ***Tools for Conviviality***

I had all this technology, all their machines at my fingertips: Pitney Bowes Machine: Truly one of this century's great inventions. Like a piggy bank. I sent all bills, business, tax junk, personal letters, presents, overseas air mail, crypto-grams, mail art, chain letters, friends' mail, cassettes, fliers, invites, pamphlets, books, journals, submissions to publications, etc. from work. I shiver when I calculate the magnitude of it. I venture $15,000, but modesty—or fear—keeps it THIS low.

How: Just add in your stuff when you stamp theirs. use their envelopes. Type addresses. At one point they suspected me or the cleaning lady. They hid the key. I fidgeted with the mechanism & figured how to jam a pin back with a scissor. I wasn't to be denied. Soon after I found where they hid the key. They gave up playing hide & seek—took too much time!

Copy machine: Temple of the gods. Revolutionary as the printing press. & I knew my copiers like a teen knows his '64 Chevy. Call me troubleshooter, copy expert but don't call me late for paychecks.

I became a powerful lobbyist when it came time for new copiers. I got auto-feed, enlarge/reduce, etc. Pleading conceits of office efficiency. I got to spend a lot of time around copiers.

In my desk files—mostly personal—I kept copying projects. So when I did their copying I'd throw in my own. & I got bolder. Did my copying whenever I felt like it. The audacity of my actions made it all appear legit. I could do almost anything I wanted now. Numbers: 4 copies of 3 novels + excerpts + stories + articles + newsclippings + whole books + collages + copyart + layout + little mags + stationary + X-mas cards, etc. In fact, after 5 with 2 machines on auto-feed I went through whole forests of paper. I'd venture 100,000 copies & discretion moderates me here.

Telephones: Don't burn up the lines. But don't deny yourself calls. Phones make the office even *more* your place. Phones help change the work place into an extension of your real life. Also, study the long distance bills. See how it's handled. Sometimes you fill in slips. Sometimes employees initial their calls. Find out where calls go. Learn how vigilant/petty/overworked the office manager is. & then go to it; Europe, California. Local calls are go from the word work. Make them *during* work, not lunch. Call friends at their jobs. Multiply your subversion. Consumer complaint calls and letters can be done at work. Use your title, their stationary, their phones to get reimbursed for products with which you were "less than satisfied."

Don't put your feet up on the desk. Don't be stealthy either. You can drudge and drone while on the phone. Your outside life brought in by phone helps obfuscate the lines between work & play. Set an example. Be on the phone. Encourage her to call sis in Hartford. Encourage him to jump on that offer in Jersey. Encourage them to utilize killed time. Because by merely vengefully killing time one begins to kill desire. Make them curious how you "get away with it."

Radio is mostly multi-national Muzak, a weapon that soothes and stimulates production & consumption. Since we needed a radio & I was the go-fer I went out & bought a double dubbing cassette box. & commandeered it! News, ballgames, cassettes. Only guy in midtown with the Cramps, Beatnigs, & prime WFMU shows. I played dj, made & previewed cassettes, etc.

"Take a case of White Out/ You might need it one day/ Take stuff from work/ it's your duty as an oppressed worker/ to steal from your exploiters."
—King Missile Dog Fly Religion, "Take Stuff from Work"

Supplies: Remember, stolen flowers smell best! No pre-apocalyptic home should be without reams of paper, pounds of paperclips, pens, markers, soap, bulbs, paper towels, software, notepads, champagne, answering machines, etc. The secret is to be attritional, go with the flow. Don't sneak. Just do it as part of the job. Things disappear, get used up. It's all tax deductible anyway. Don't regret *not* taking something! It's in no one's interest to snitch. Mutual subversion will make it more fun, part of a wink wink pact.

*"The 1st problem is obviously a negative one: How can we paralyze and eliminate the Machine's control (ie, the Machine itself)?...We can call this aspect of our strategy "deconstruction" or subversion...Let's not forget we're parts of the Machine, that it **is** us."*
—P.M., ***Bolo Bolo***

"A good prank raises life up to what art should be: a critique of society, & a glimpse into a better, more poetic future."
—Andrea Juno, "Pranks," **RE/Search #11**

It's the surprise, Zen bewilderment that for a moment sends a flower through the concrete. Just as a sample: I once wrapped a co-worker's

Continued on page 21

Turtle Talk

Review by Toni Otter

Turtle Talk: Voices for a Sustainable Future by Christopher and Judith Plant (New Society Publishers, P.O. Box 582, Santa Cruz, CA 95061, 1990) 144pp., $10 paper.

The same folks who bring us **The New Catalyst** journal now bring us their Bioregional series, of which *Turtle Talk* is Volume One. It is a good short introduction to bioregionalism, though to really appreciate many of the contributors, further reading of their published works (which often do not deal with bioregionalism per se) would be necessary.

The fourteen interviews which comprise this anthology involve people, as Kirkpatrick Sale writes in the Foreword, *"whose voices offer a unique insight into what the human predicament is today, and why, into the true depths of the crisis of the industrial world and the ...governments holding it together, and into what might be done to redirect society upon an organic...course."* (p.ix) Those interviewed are *"people not merely thinking, but doing"* (p.x) and the book illustrates that there are solutions to our problems if we think, act, and, like the turtle, stick our necks out to get ahead.

Christopher and Judith Plant do most of the interviewing, and Christopher introduces the book with his tale of how **The New Catalyst** group struggled their way to publication in rural British Columbia.

Gary Snyder comes next, encouraging people to stay where they are, love and protect the land over the years, and regenerate culture/community. He draws on his own vision, Buddhism, Taoism, and the work of Kropotkin and Bookchin. George Woodcock's interview discusses the historical role of mutual aid, non-violence, and decentralism in social evolution: *"The initiatives for change have to operate within the society's structure, not in isolation from it, and have to encourage the growth of tendencies that represent mutual aid and cooperation at the expense of the negative tendencies of political manipulation and bureaucratic control."* (p.46) Another anarchist scholar, Murray Bookchin, is interviewed concerning municipal libertarianism, confederation, and social ecology, about which regarding the latter he states, *"It's terribly important that every environmental issue be examined in the light of its social causes."* (p.126)

Marie Wilson, a spokesperson for Gitksan Wet'su wet'en Tribal Council, northwestern British Columbia, a group which has used legal means and direct action to protect their way of life and land, discusses Gitksan thought. Among her memorable comments, I share just two quotations: 1) *"I believe all people started out connected to the land. People like the Gitksan copied nature because they were surrounded by it, not protected from it....They saw the cycle of life, from the very smallest to the largest, all connected, and saw that the system itself punished any breaking of the cycle--not a god."* (p.79) 2) *"I have had the awful feeling that when we are finished dealing with the courts and our land claims, we will then have to battle the environmentalists and they will not understand why."* (p.82) George Watts of the Nuu Chah Nulth in British Columbia, interviewed by Suzanne Hare, talks about Native land claims and the complexity of human interaction with the land. Freeman House is in the midst of bioregional reinhabitation and restoration in the northern California Mattole Valley and he describes work in his watershed: salmon enhancement (they were almost extinct in the area), erosion control, reforestation, and education.

Caroline Estes' general topic is decision-making and consensus, about which she comments, *"Consensus is where a question is asked, and then everyone who is there speaks their minds...and out off all of the sharing, there starts to emerge a common answer...."* (p.95) Susan Griffin is interviewed concerning industrial society's tendency to *"isolate and degrade other human beings and nature itself as 'other'"* (p.50, Plant's introduction to Griffin) and the possibilities for cooperation among social change groups. Susan Meeker-Lowry puts forth her views on community and global economics.

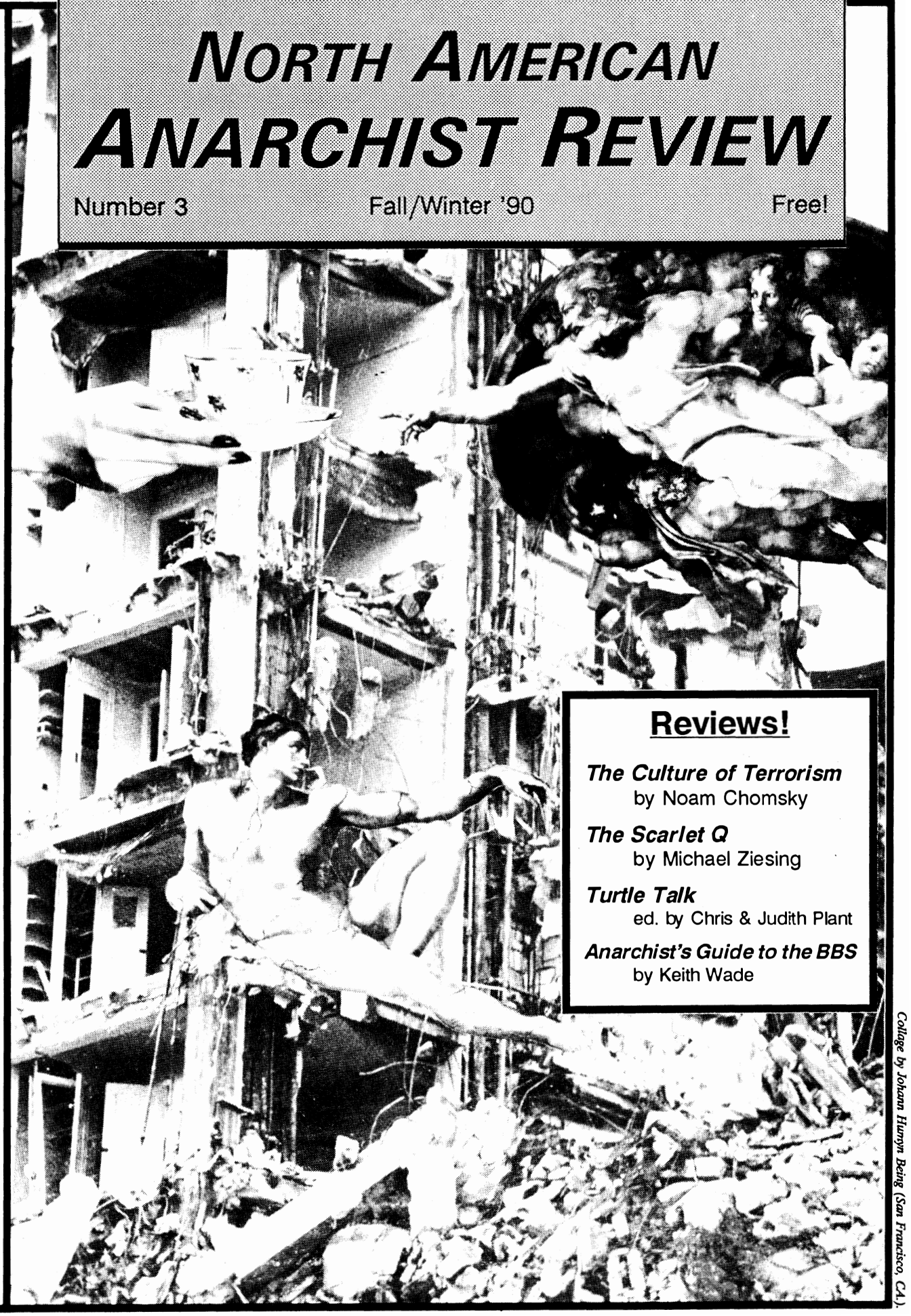
John Seed, a grower of avocadoes in Australia until earth-assault vehicles surrounded him, presents his perspectives on deep ecology. Dave Foreman makes a case for wilderness defense, including monkey wrenching, while Peter Berg affirms wilderness as a paradigm around which to build human community: *"What if it were wilderness, what would we do? Or, what if it was wilderness, how would it work?"* (p.26)

The above is a brief synopsis of *Turtle Talk*, scarcely a review, yet it may provide a useful survey of the book. As said before, most of those interviewed have published work of which the interviews are the barest glimpse. In general, however, *Turtle Talk* is a fair and engaging introduction to bioregionalism, and the interviews are possible windows for further reading, thought, and action.

For those who want a critique of deep ecology, there is George Bradford's *How Deep Is Deep Ecology?* The pages of **Anarchy** back issues (ex. Janos Nehek's essay in #22) provide some critique of the new-age spirituality which pervades some of the selections in *Turtle Talk*.

How we are to build "bioregional economics" with capitalism in place is an interesting question. The Native Americans, among others, had bioregional economics of long standing and would willingly have continued them if capitalist incursion had not occurred beginning circa 1500. Susan Meeker-Lowry's notion of socially conscious investing is clear enough to me. I also boycott as many obviously exploitative businesses, products, etc., as possible. But from another perspective socially conscious investing is like military intelligence—a contradiction in terms. Investment itself involves banks and money, and while some investment is more overtly sexist, racist, etc., **all** investment within a capitalist, hierarchical, elite-dominated economy is ultimately anything but socially conscious, try as we will to launder the money. What happened to the idea of social movements which would erase the bank records, disappear the property titles and deeds, and practice energy conservation by using money and classified financial documents as tinder, while we proceed with something more nearly like a socially conscious **way of life** which is antithetical to the very concept of investment which involves money? *Turtle Talk* is a good read, but keep your eyes open, and don't be afraid to get ahead by abandoning the shell.

NORTH AMERICAN ANARCHIST REVIEW
Number 3 Fall/Winter '90 Free!



Reviews!

The Culture of Terrorism
by Noam Chomsky

The Scarlet Q
by Michael Ziesing

Turtle Talk
ed. by Chris & Judith Plant

Anarchist's Guide to the BBS
by Keith Wade

Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.)

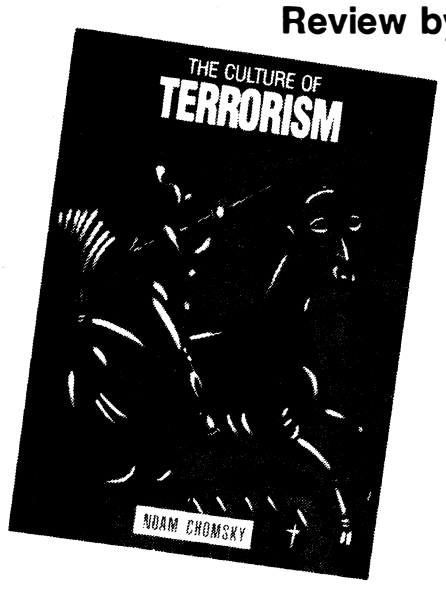
The Culture of Terrorism

Review by Toni Otter

The Culture of Terrorism by Noam Chomsky (Black Rose Books: Montreal and New York, 1988) 263pp. $16.95 paper.

The Culture of Terrorism deals primarily with U.S. intervention in Central America and the cover-up of the Iran-Contra scandal, about which Chomsky writes, *"The partial exposure of Washington's international terror network in late 1986 necessitated a project of damage control to ensure that nothing significant would be perceived or learned, not a simple matter in light of what we have done in Central America in the past decade."* (p.113)

Chomsky turns his critical skills toward U.S. foreign policy generally and the subservient role of the media. He refutes the notion that the U.S. ruling elite has now or in the past any good intentions toward Central America. The U.S. was content to reduce Nicaragua to abject poverty under Somoza, but when Nicaraguans attempted necessary changes in 1979, Washington was suddenly concerned about democracy there, though not of course in El Salvador, Guatemala or Honduras, countries about which Chomsky also has much to say. Relative to U.S. foreign policy, democracy *"exists only when elements favorable to the interests of U.S. investors are*



guaranteed the capacity to rule the political system. At home [in the U.S.], that means that the political and ideological systems must be under business control, a result achieved long ago. In the Third World, 'democracy' requires that the media and political system be in the hands of local oligarchies or similar elements committed to the form of 'development' favored by U.S. investors, that the public be marginalized (by violence, if necessary), and that the military, with its long-established links to the U.S. system of violence, be granted free rein." (pp. 124-125)

Chomsky also examines the complicity of the **New York Times**, the **Washington Post**, the **Wall Street Journal**, and the **Christian Science Monitor**, to name a few, in feeding the U.S. public a steady diet of false and distorted information. Poorly informed people with historical amnesia are often unable to comprehend that, for example, Watergate and Iran-Contragate, or what little is revealed of them, are standard operating procedure for those in power and not aberrations caused merely by errant individuals.

The U.S. government and the ruling elite, uncritically supported by a fawning press, have thus established a track record of incessant violence and contempt for democracy while maintaining the illusion that the U.S., Oliver North, George Bush, et. al., are champions of truth, justice, and the American way. One of many agencies which manufacture such deception, Chomsky records, was Reagan's State Department Office of Public Diplomacy, *"reported to be controlled by Elliott Abrams under the supervision of the National Security Council."* (p.200) The function of Public Diplomacy was to mold U.S. opinion concerning Nicaragua and *"a senior U.S. official 'familiar with the effort' describes the enterprise as a 'huge psychological operation of the kind the military conducts to influence a population in denied or enemy territory.' The terms are well chosen to express the perception of the public and Congress within contemporary 'conservatism': enemy territory."* (p.201)

Chomsky applies his linguistic talents to expose the Orwellian language of press and bureaucracy. Attempting to awaken us from the spell of public relations, he analyzes specific events and contends that the U.S., militarily strong and politically weak, must resort to violence to destroy popular movements in the Third World. Since such manipulation and violence might look bad in the U.S., *"the ideological institutions have the task of portraying them as the opposite of what they are."* (p.131)

One excellent feature of Chomsky's work is that he analyzes specific news stories and historical events in great depth, step by step, to reveal subterfuge, lies, and unstated assumptions. He makes his case so clearly and carefully that any reader comes away better informed, while those new to or skeptical of his discourse are required to confront the thoroughness of his logic and documentation.

The Culture of Terrorism relentlessly explodes the myths that *"atrocities conducted by 'our side' are not atrocities, but rather errors in a noble cause"* (p.145) and that *"we seek negotiations and political settlement, while 'they' refuse, and must be driven to the negotiating table by force."* (p.132) Chomsky digs up a plethora of quotations which show a number of authorities for what they are, such as the late William Casey saying, *"It takes relatively few people and little support to disrupt the internal peace and economic stability of a small country."* (p.90) Or the following from General Edward Lansdale: *"There is also a local veteran's organization and a grass-roots political organization in Laos, both of which are subject to CIA direction and control and are capable of carrying out propaganda, sabotage and harassment operations."* (p.126) As Chomsky points out: *"Once the basic doctrinal framework is adopted—U.S. benevolence and devotion to democracy, Sandinista totalitarianism and service to their Soviet masters, Central America as a stage for the East-West conflict, the fledgling democracies [Guatemala, El Salvador, etc.], and the remainder of the familiar claptrap —there is no longer any danger of sane discussion informed by fact or guided by conditions of rationality. Within the bounds set by the doctrinal system, debate can rage in the Free Press, the more the better, since it serves only to reinforce the principles that are adopted across the spectrum because they serve the needs of the powerful and the privileged, while helping preserve the required illusions about American society and it's internal openness."* (p.222)

Despite the efforts of the ruling elite, Chomsky reminds us that *"the enemy at home has by no means been subdued."* (p.258) Chomsky is part of the resistance to the Newspeak and creeping fascism which affect segments of the U.S. population. He informs our struggles and clarifies our thoughts as we create a world which overcomes the culture of terrorism.

The Scarlet Q

Review by Toni Otter

The Scarlet Q: Anarchy, Religion, and the Cult of Science by Michael Ziesing (Lysander Spooner Society, POB 433, Willimantic, Ct. 06226, 1990) unpaginated (circa 150pp.) $7.50 paper.

Michael Ziesing, who has published for years the anarchist periodical **Instead of a Magazine**, shares his observations on life and philosophical reflections in this easily readable collection of short essays. Beginning with "What Is Anarchism?" the author offers his own brief description of the "A" word. Among his various comments on the subject, he grants that religious anarchism is a contradiction in terms for many, but the *"position that I take is that while religion has often been authoritarian and often little more than a government itself, it need not necessarily be such and that it is not, in and of itself, opposed to anarchist ideals."*

In the later section on "Taoism and Anarchism" he elaborates this position on religion. His discussion of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, anti-statist cultures, yin and yang, Zen, Taoism and beer and their relation to anarchism is a pleasant experience, even for people like me who disagree with Ziesing on a number of matters.

Ziesing devotes four essays to his critique of science. Reason, technology, and science constitute the most dangerous cult of industrial society and are, in fact, a sort of state religion. Even anti-statists like Bakunin and Johann Most were mistaken to trust in science, and Ziesing is dismayed with those whose rationalism prevents transcendental inquiry. Religious anarchists may appreciate Ziesing's sympathies for the gnostic tradition and the Ranters, while others may have difficulty with statements like: *"I think Jesus Christ was a revolutionary who was executed by the state. I think he is God. If he isn't, he should be. Anybody who causes THAT much trouble for the state, and all because he emphasized that GOD IS LOVE and the only commandment IS to love--well--anybody like that is definitely ok by me."*

After reading the above, I sardonically

Continued on next page

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Fall/Winter 1990
Press run: 5,000

North American Anarchist Review is a semi-annual tabloid primarily intended to let the libertarian community know about interesting new (and old) books, journals and publishers. This issue of **NAAR** has been published as an insert to **Anarchy; A Journal of Desire Armed** #26—although editorially it is independent from that journal.

Since **NAAR** is largely intended as a service to publishers, distributors and bookstores, it will be financed largely by advertising from these areas—if it is to be successful. Single copies are intended for free direct distribution, or for an SASE by mail. Sorry, no subscriptions will be accepted.

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Computer anarchy?

Review by Ben G. Price

The Anarchist's Guide to the BBS by Keith Wade (Loompanics Unlimited, P.O. Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA. 98368, 1990) 90pp. $8.95 paper.

Author Keith Wade is optimistic about the computer age. But it's evident from his book *The Anarchist's Guide to the BBS* that he favors the funky side of progress and would like to rescue some remnant of personal control over our destiny from the silicon juggernaut that threatens to separate us completely from the natural world. He proposes doing so by infiltrating cyberspace and setting-up the invisible headquarters of an anarchist underground of free thinkers.

Wade is at home in the electronic habitat of Dataland, where the new society has caged the soul of the consumer in bar-code dungeons. And he seems to have adapted to the hostile environment of the electronic hive in which the essence of our appetites and characters has been stored on silicon chips: snack food for the "producers" of our devalued joy.

Wade is promoting the popular use of electronic Bulletin Board Systems as a way of fighting the system on its own term(inal)s. He claims the BBS is a new and powerful medium for an enhanced freedom of expression that makes use of public telephone lines to network privately owned home computers.

There is something nostalgically endearing about this book. It rings with the enthusiasm of a bygone era when hobbyists distinguished between work and play by measuring the "gee-whiz" factor. *The Anarchist's Guide to the BBS* is chock-full of Keith Wade's personal joy at participating in an invisible society that tolerates a stronger dose of reality than the anemic, denial-drained "real world" of the Gallup polster.

This is definitely not a technical book targeted at programmers or would-be hackers. It's a practical introduction to the lingo and the lure of an on-line community that seems to be the electronic analog of the print media's APA [Amateur Press Association].

With a personal computer, we are told, and a modem (telephone link between computers), anyone can have access to a broad array of bulletin board systems, and each of the BBS's offers a variety of "conferences" where specific interests can be shared, messages "anonymously" posted, and information openly or clandestinely exchanged.

It's also definitely not a book for Luddite Anarchists who believe the demise of existing hierarchical systems require the utter abandonment of industry and technology. For the non-hacker, anarchist, non-conformist, or dissident who just wants a secure place to rant, plan tactics, and meet like-minded people, however, electronic bulletin board systems seem ideal, despite some endemic drawbacks.

There are significant differences between participation in an electronic Bulletin Board System and any other clandestine media of information exchange, and it will be important for anyone considering computer link-ups for "illegal" or less-than-legitimate use to take these differences into account.

The Anarchist's Guide to the BBS is the book to read if you're looking for a ground-floor entrance to the invisible world of electronic controversial information exchange, much of which could never be published or broadcast in the established media. But I think even Keith Wade would admit that the BBS is not a gushing fount of liberty. To quote him on this point: *"You can say anything that strikes your fancy on a bulletin board, subject to the will of your friendly local SysOp."* (p.16)

Wade offers a plethora of examples of the authoritarian nature of the BBS media which is, unfortunately (and, it would seem, unacceptably), subject to the whims of a central power known as the "SysOp".

A "SysOp" is a computer enthusiast who volunteers to foot the bill to set-up a base for computer operations involving in-coming transmissions from computers owned by individuals in the mood to network. Messages you type on your computer keyboard are channeled through existing telephone lines to the multi-line input end of the system owned and paid for by the system operator, the "SysOp".

According to Wade *"It is the system operator who is responsible for the maintenance of the system and the creation and enforcement of rules and regulations regarding system use."* (p.67)

In this regard, the SysOp governed BBS seems to be modelled on the capitalist idea of the corporation, wherein the biggest investor maintains control. Those beyond the financing of the system must accept the regulatory control of the entrepreneur. This is the questionable rationale for all forms of capitalist repression, positing ownership of resources as the sole legitimization of power. Such power, in the BBS as well as the corporate economy, is an extension of the feudal notion of a "landed gentry", where property ownership grants the holder rights to censorship, "taxation" (levied, in the case of the BBS, on participants for maintenance of the system), legislation and discipline (such as ostracism and BBS lock-out of objectionable participants).

The BBS, as presented by Keith Wade, is a hierarchical medium that allows secrecy and access to privileged information at the pleasure of the owner of a central signal exchange board. The "good news" is that you too can become a SysOp and pass your own laws, code of ethics, and limits to communication. The bad news, so far as this reviewer is concerned, is: ditto.

Signal security, pseudonyms, and any code devised to protect sensitive information seems slightly frivolous if the SysOp is permitted to hold the key to all the codes and the real names behind the handles. A compromised SysOp could be forced to turn over what s/he knows to the authorities. Which is not to say that no level of privacy can be maintained. But even an uncompromised BBS is beholden to its SysOp, and a certain level of ass-kissing, if not out-right subservience, is likely to flavor the juice in the wires.

The level of security is no better in a BBS than the public mail, unless you take advantage of encrypting programs. After all, unless your mail is being opened you can be just as subversive in print as you can be on the BBS. But if you've come under authoritarian scrutiny, if the ire of your sire has been aroused, you'll start getting letters in retaped envelopes.

The envelope of security around a BBS is just about as thin. The biggest SysOp of all is the N.S.A. With its sophisticated electronic eavesdropping techniques it can tap into phone lines and "private" electronic communications with impunity (which is how it does everything). Your "friendly local SysOp", as Wade calls them, may get a visit from the MIBS (men in black). As a result, you may be barred from the bulletin board because the SysOp is catching too much heat. Or you may be the one to get a knock on the door.

Hunting down and holding an annoying free BBS is simple enough for the data cops, but they can set up a "sting" BBS with no hassles at all. Here, a Bulletin Board System is clandestinely put on-line by a government agency, which acts as the SysOp. Such an electronic front has the potential to draw to itself the best "intelligence" available on the social underground by posing as a mere "switching station" for those who mistakenly think high tech subversion is secure. It's as secure as your SysOp. Do you know who your SysOp is?

So, what can you do with a BBS, assuming you've got a day job to support your habit, a telephone, keyboard and modem, as well as paid-up electric and phone bills?

Well, you can do about the same thing as the guy on the other end wants to do: connect. You can, with the approval and cooperation of a SysOp, join in the dialogue, post messages, retrieve information, download programs, view titillating "adult" material, get your hands on credit card numbers that are just ripe for being ripped-off, or....

You can conspire, gamble, deal drugs, engage in insider trading and generally, within the framework of the very technology you are attempting to depose, undermine industrial society through acts of sabotage.

But, for the record, it seems to me that it takes a fair degree of affection for the society of technology before you find yourself at the point of playing meta-anarchy through a BBS. And those more interested in the comradely charm of the electronic clubhouse are unlikely to carry their subversive activities much beyond the adolescent level of tweaking the nose of authority with silicon hi-jinx. After all, to really jeopardize the system would be to put an end to the fun.

Keith Wade's guide book conjures an electronic underground that, though it exists, is anything but self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency implies getting along without the support of the industrial superstructure. While it's true that even the print media is dependent on technology, the BBS is only marginally more open to the free expression of ideas and opinions than more conventional media, due to its tradition (however brief) of hierarchical control.

And what of this new element being injected into the lines of interpersonal communication? I am referring to secrecy and the reliance on codes and anonymity. It may be that free expression doesn't mean total independence from the technical resources of expression. But does freedom imply the necessity of secrecy?

In this age of repression and censorship, perhaps the need for secrecy has come to appear a requirement of freedom. I remain unconvinced. If we make secrecy our only avenue to freedom, freedom is backhoed into the underground like a drainage pipe. And I'd hate to see such an underground trickle of free expression become the only outlet for the groundswell of our aspirations for liberty. But I'll admit that having to say things quietly is better than not being able to say them at all.

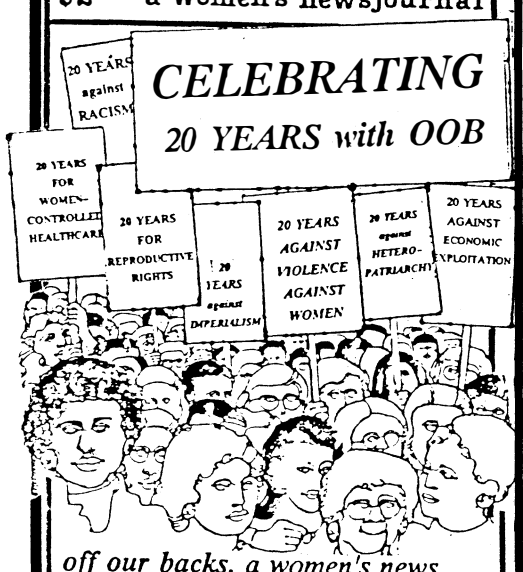
Freedom requires uninhibited self-reliance, even if self-sufficiency is beyond our means. In the year 1990, does it require a PC keyboard?

Computer networking will certainly not establish anarchy and may not guarantee liberty but, these days, an unrestricted BBS ruled by an enlightened SysOp might augment it. If you think fighting fire with fire is the way to go, *The Anarchist's Guide to the BBS* can tell you how to get started.

volume IX number 2 february 1990

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The Scarlet Q *Continued from page 2*

paused and wondered if the heavens would at that very moment trumpet forth lyrics from an early 1970s pop hit: "Jesus is just all right with me; Jesus is just all right, oh yeah!"

Ziesing's "An American Anarchist in Ireland" concerns mostly northern Eire. His anti-prison views and a tribute to his incarcerated friend, the late Peter Andruskiewicz, are presented in two essays, and the section "Anarchy and the Real World" addresses various topics, including work and jobs, relative privilege, apparel, middle age, and *"living in a statist world without contemplating suicide."* The punk scene was once a source of vitality for Ziesing and he records his feelings in a pair of essays, though his present view is that punk as a movement is dead.

Ziesing dares to share his personal and philosophical world with us. I disagree with some of his conclusions, but he has the courage to speak his mind. His book may touch certain readers with a desire to question everything, with which result I think Michael Ziesing would be pleased.

Kill the king?

We Should Have Killed The King by J.G. Eccarius (III Publishing, P.O. Box 620362 San Diego, CA. 92162, 1990) 191pp. $5.00 paper.

Eccarius' new novel begins in 1381 with a peasant revolt in England. Jack Straw is part of a popular uprising which temporarily abolishes royal taxation, tithes to the church, and rent to landlords, but stops short of executing the king and his allies. The aristocracy and gentry are subsequently able, through money, arms, and deceit, to reassert their dominance. Jack Straw's last words before hanging are: *"We should have killed the lords and we should have killed the king!"* (p.31)

The setting then jumps to the U.S.A. in the latter twentieth century and the activity of another Jack Straw. One follows with interest Jack's development through family, school, travel, friendships, jobs, and various alternative scenes and radical milieus. The novel is primarily the story of Jack and his attempt to live freely in an unfree world.

Toward the end of Jack's life, his words echo those of his 1381 predecessor: *"We should have blown up the factories before we came here, the CFC factories if nothing else...."* (p.179) Does Eccarius mean to communicate that Jack (and Jill) have in some fundamental way learned nothing since 1381? Jack ultimately reflects that *"even if they destroyed the CFC factories back in 1989 the earth would have still died. Mankind was a diseased species, bent on destroying itself. If it wasn't the CFC's destroying the ozone layer it would have been something else, nuclear war or some industrial by product or just plane* (sic) *paving over the living earth."* (p.184) Does Eccarius encourage us to conclude that changing the world is futile? Or does he wish to motivate us to fight the power whenever and wherever possible so that we will not at life's end face the gallows, or a dying planet, and regretfully reminisce that we should have done what we could have done to successfully overcome the forces that destroyed us?

This novel follows Eccarius' *The Last Days of Christ the Vampire.* I did not read his previous work, but heard much about it, and expected more from this one. Eccarius' story line and general content have a certain energy and depth which could have been better presented with improved writing skill, plot construction, and editing. *-Review by Toni Otter.*

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Anarchy #6 (12pp., tabloid) *[Aug. 1985]* Contents include a story by William Cottrell titled "Mother Love," a section on "Native American News" and "Star Wars=1st strike; U.S. plans Death Star."

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Anarchy #8 (12pp., tabloid) *[Oct. /Nov. 1985]* Contents include "Julian Beck; a memory" by Badguy, "The daily battle" by Freddie Baer and "The abolition of work" by Bob Black.

Anarchy #9 (12pp., tabloid) *[Dec. '85/Jan '86]* Contents include "Foreign Policy," a tale by Gerry Reith, a discussion titled "Cooperation is anarchy" and "The Plague (Central America)" by Julian Noa.

Anarchy #10 (12pp., tabloid) *[Feb. /March 1986]* Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi by Tuiavii of Tiavea," the 1985/86 revision of the C.A.L.'s *As we see it!*, and "Storybox" by Jal.

Anarchy #11 (12pp., tabloid) *[April 1986]* Contents include "A history of the Anarchist Black Cross;" "The Papalagi" (part 2); "The Federal Programme of the West German Greens—Part I;" "The Badguy Report—The Club Dekrepit bust: two years after;" and "Winning hearts and minds," a story by Gerry Reith.

Anarchy #12 (12pp., tabloid) *[Summer 1986]* Contents include a report on the "Haymarket '86 anarchist gathering," "Radical movements confront apartheid in South Africa," "The Papalagi" (part 3), "Let us prey! Smash the state!" by Bob Black, and "Notes on playing for keeps" by Alf Sprack, plus an insert of the 12-page Summer '86 issue of **The Gentle Anarchist.**

Anarchy #13 [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp., tabloid) *[Fall/ Winter 1986]* Contents include "The Papalagi" (part 4), "The bioregional vision—far-sighted or myopic?" by Lev Chernyi, "Theses on libertarian municipalism" by Murray Bookchin, "A summer place" by Kerry Thornley, and "Reagan's drug war" by Kurt Nimmo.

Anarchy #14 (28pp., tabloid) *[Summer 1987]* Contents include "Anarchy in Greece," "The Papalagi" (part 5), "Vagaries of negation" by John Zerzan, a review of "Noam Chomsky's *Turning the Tide*" by Lev Chernyi, and "Intervention in Vietnam and Central America: Parallels and differences" by Noam Chomsky.

Anarchy #15 (32pp., tabloid) *[Winter 1988]* Contents include "Give chance a piece," "Propping up the cities; a review of Murray Bookchin's *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*" by John Zerzan, "The Papalagi" (part 6), "The realization and suppression of religion" by Ken Knabb, "Anarchy & religion; a dialogue" (including contributions from Fred Woodworth, Jay Kinney, and Lev Chernyi).

Anarchy #16 (32pp., tabloid) *[Summer 1988]* Contents include "Native American guerrillas in Colombia," "Rabi Rousers protest in Minneapolis," "*Working Girls; A review*" by Lev Chernyi, "The Papalagi" (part 7), "A note on biocentrism" by Lev Chernyi, "Realizing desire" by New Rage, "A boring night out, circa 1975" by Lev Chernyi, "My life in the porn biz" by Holly, "Pornography and pleasure" by Paula Webster, and "Anarchy & religion—thedialoguecontinues."

Anarchy #17 (32pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) *[Fall/Winter 1988/89]* Contents include "Stumps Suck! on the Okanogan" by Mikal Jakubal, "Chaos and anarchy" by Kansas Slim, "The Papalagi" (part 8), "The point of no return for everybody" (a review of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal* and John Zerzan & Alice Carnes' *Questioning Technology*) by Lev Chernyi, "Who killed Ned Ludd?" by John Zerzan, "The freedom of biocentrism: a poem" by Lone Wolf Circles, "If nature abhors ideologies...biocentrism is no exception" by Lev Chernyi, "Anarchy & religion—the dialogue continues" (including "The quest for the spiritual" by Feral Faun and more letters), and the first installment of "The nihilist's dictionary" (on "Niceism") by John Zerzan.

Anarchy #18 (32pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) *[March/April 1989]* Contents include a "Report on the Oct. 17th Pentagon action" by Paul Simons; reviews of Jeremy Rifkin's *Time Wars* by Maria Mitchell, Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall's *Agents of Repression* by Toni Otter, and Kent Winslow's *Dream World* by Lev Chernyi; "Current controversies concerning the annual continental anarchist gatherings" by Lev Chernyi; "The Papalagi" (part 9); an excerpt from "Bigger cages, longer chains" by Spectacular Times; "An introduction to critical theory" by Lev Chernyi; two reactions to the Toronto anarchist gathering's "Day of Action"; a continuing discussion of "Biocentrism vs. the critique of ideology" between Feral Faun, Lone Wolf Circles, and Lev Chernyi; a continuing discussion on anarchy and religion; columns including Interrogations' "On unions," John Zerzan on "Technology," "A's for attitude," and "The return of the Badguy report."

Anarchy #19 (32pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) *[May-July 1989]* Contents include a "Report on the April N.O.W. March in D.C." by Melen Lunn; "The Economic Movement and the Polish opposition" by John Barrett; "Taking the low road to *High Weirdness*," a review by Bob Black; "The Korean anarchists," a review by Toni Otter; "'Another Heresy' survey results"; "The Papalagi" (Part 10); "Pedophilia; Views from the other side—including "I was fifteen, she was forty-three" by Chris Bearchell and "Girl Love" (anonymous); "Liberating sexuality," reviews of Richard Walters' *Sexual Friendship* and Will McBride & Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt's *Show Me!* by Lev Chernyi; "Sexuality and the mystique of innocence" by Laure A.; "Save the children" by Richard Walters; "Biocentrism: ideology against nature" by Mikal Jakubal; "Beyond Earth First!" by Feral Faun; columns including "The Badguy Report," "Nation, state...or human community" by Interrogations, "Feral Revolution" by Feral Faun, "A's for Attitude," and John Zerzan on "Culture".

Anarchy #20/21 Double issue (48pp., 10½"X14½"/stitched) *[Aug.-October 1989]* Contents include "Clean, sober & obedient; Behind the anti-drug witch-hunt" by Jack Straw, "On Afghanistan" by A Trotter, "People's Park riot in Berkeley; What really happened on May 19th" reprinted from **Slingshot**, Alison Gross' review of *Remaking Love*, a review of Errol Morris'"The Thin Blue Line," "Venezuela in the streets! Letter from a Venezuelan anarchist," "An open letter about the Toronto gathering demonstration and demonstrations in general" by Feral Faun, the final installment of "The Papalagi" entitled "The Papalagi want to drag us down into their darkness," "To have done with the economy of love" by Feral Faun, "Whatever happened to the sexual revolution" by Richard Walters, "Monogamy or non-monogamy? A discussion," a story by Laurie Ulster entitled "I'll Remember You," the newly revised version of "As we see it!" by the C.A.L., Toni Otter's review of *Erotic by Nature* and a reprint of Dreaminhawk's story "The Pink Scarf" from that book, "Jealousy" by Isaac Cronin, Kevin Keating's story "The Man in the Box," and columns including "John Zerzan on the "Feral," Mikal Jakubal's "Effects without a cause," "A's for Attitude" and "The Badguy Report" on "The primal in the creation of the everyday." **[Note: this issue is double the price of other back issues]**

Anarchy #22 (32pp., 10½"X 14½" /stitched) *[Nov./Dec.'89]* Contents include "Without Borders 1989; Reports on the gathering and Day of Action," the first chapter of Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* on "The insignificant signified," "In search of the New Age; The infinite egress of you" by Janos Nehek, "Kid's Sexuality" by K@nalratten, "In the wake of the Exxon Valdez; World capitalism and global ecocide" by Will Guest, columns including "The slut & the virgin" by A's for Attitude, "Whiter now?" by Feral Faun, and "On organization" by Interrogations, as well as an insert of the first issue of **North American Anarchist Review.**

Anarchy #23 (36pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) [Jan./Feb.'89] Contents include "An interview with a W. Berlin autonomist," "Seven theses on play" by Paul Simons, "The population myth" by Murray Bookchin, "Propaganda American-style" by Noam Chomsky, "Contradictions of cocaine capitalism" by Jefferson Morley, and the second chapter of Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* on "Humiliation," as well as our regular columns & 12+ pages of letters (including special sections on "anarchy & religion" and our "children's sexuality" issue).

Anarchy #24 (36pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) [March-April '90] Contents include "At the Berlin Wall" by Laure A., "Stewart Home's assault on coherent theory and practice"—Lev Chernyi's review of *The Assault on Culture*, Hakim Bey's "Boycott cop culture!," the third chapter of Raoul Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life* on "Isolation," "Misinformation and manipulation: An anarchist critique of the politics of AIDS" by Joe Peacott, An exchange on "Anarchy and the sacred," Ben Price's "Talking to ourselves," and columns including "A's for Attitude," "The Nihilist Dictionary" on "Progress," and "The Iconoclast's Hammer" by Feral Faun, as well as 10+ pages of letters.

Anarchy #25 (36pp., 10½"X14½" /stitched) [Summer '90] Contents include "Death of a revolutionary" by Max Anger, "Bonanno & Stasi in Italy," "Anarchy in Eastern Europe" by Stefan Wray, the fourth chapter of Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life* on "Suffering," "The mass psychology of misery" by John Zerzan, "Ecocide on the east side" by Will Guest," and columns including Feral Faun on "Social transformation—or the abolition of society," boog on "The two big lies of capitalist economics," & "A's for Attitude," plus an 8-page insert of the **North American Anarchist Review #2.**

Take things from work

Continued from page 20

desk with a roll of Scotch tape. Stored food in desk drawers. Fun commenced with the decay. Often rearranged office desks, re-filled files. Moved paraphernalia to new spots. Sometimes it looked like a hurricane had hit. When the victim is mad & everyone else is laughing he's forced into the mirth. Often added items at random from the kitchen or my image files to envelopes in mass mailings; penis enlargement ads, hair removal tools, a morsel of food, vacuums that suck away fat. Left a message for president to call a certain urgent number. Turns out to be a prerecorded phone sex message. I'd often knock artworks askew. Copied my altered memos. Some looked real enough to confuse them. For the X-mas party I would add a few zingers to the standard stuff like "Santa Must Be Polish" or "Suicide" sung to the tune of "Jingle Bells."

A monthly meeting by the Board meant the chairman would be snooping around looking for freebies & the key to the Pitney Bowes machine. I'd hide the key & leave periodic notes like: "You're getting warmer" or "I've hidden all my porno & locked up my best pens." What could he say?

I spread the word that I'd had sex at night in the boss' prize Swedish swivel chair. I did too! This rumor created an indelible image, a kind of irreverence that subliminally alters the way others will look at that chair, the boss in that chair & the office. Helping burst a certain officiousness that wields power here.

"Pranks & sabotage make you feel less humiliated...You've crossed certain boundaries: work & play are very separate activities. With the Puritan ethic work is something to suffer for—it's a sacrifice & we're supposed to feel it's a privilege to survive. A prank brings play time into work..."
—Frank Discussion, "Pranks," **RE/-Search #11**

So there I was on the phone with 2 copiers going, dubbing cassettes, using the word processor, with dinner heating up on the hot plate. And time went by full & worm & I wasn't into just killing it.

Sweeping up: Devotion to the adventure of life will create a whirlwind & unravel those around you from their stuckness. The adventure will reverberate, resuscitate, leading to further emboldened acts. Your devil-may-care enthusiasm will be mimicked. Joyous vengeance, when hooked into the tactics of desire, will make them over, give them that certain glint in the eye. Pangs of liberation will enter their gut, their dance & work, hopefully it kept the deprocessing going *after* my departure.

The sole principle of control is fear. Rent, car payments, Visa bills. Stuck fates. It's a deep fear of being caught both *red*handed & *empty*handed.

"I've labored long & hard for bread/ for honor & for riches/ but on my corns too long you've trod/ you fine haired sons of bitches."
—Black Bart, the "Po8"

Your instilled disillusionment will first be a killing field, an empty lot of squandered time. This wasted time must become the fallow field, the compensatory/positive beginning of desire, ie. doing your nails at work means that time is now freed after work for reading, learning birdcalls.



"Work is good discipline...and it's so fulfilling, too!"

Caution: Keep voracious ego on choke chain. The law is always on their side. Don't get drunk on success. They finance the law, buy the judges to protect *their* interests.

None of this is foolproof & all dependent upon work dynamics, personalities. Stay flexible, avoid didactics, be charming. If this fails you'll get fired & collect unemployment.

This strategy is all moot & void if you work for Greenpeace, an alternative press, or soup kitchen. You are miles ahead of my experience & the 95% of who daily work in employment = exploitation equations.

And what did they get from *me*? Some time, a pile of reports, some slosh-shoed errands, repaired copiers. But by the time I made my big scram I'd so mastered the art of appearances that not only was I not replaced but my position (lovingly sculpted out of mimicry & hot thin air) no longer exists! No one has my title. It was retired like Casey Stengel's number. Any slack was absorbed by those left behind. When I left I pulled the sheet off the ghost. There was nothing under the sheet except some funny collages, grafittied phone, a VDT decked out with clippings and fortune cookie fortunes. Oh, I existed, collected a paycheck, but I barely worked. I was there, but not for them because, you see, I wanted my pay & the time to make it do as I say, as well.

"What carrot is worth working for?...-The game is up; there is nothing to lose anymore, not even an illusion. The organization of work & the organization of leisure are the blades of the castrating shears whose job is to improve the race of fawning dogs."
—Raoul Vaneigem, ***Revolution of Everyday Life***

"It's going to be an outstanding day/ goof off on the company time/ I wrote this at work/ they're paying me to write about stuff I steal from them/ life is good!"
—King Missile Dog Fly Religion, "Take Stuff From Work"

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East-West @ Conference Trieste Italy

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capitalism in their society. -Laure)

At first there was also a strange East-West separation set up by the organizers. The organizers reserved "youth hostile" space for us rather than encouraging people to sleep on the anarchist center's floor. (People did anyway.) Economic assistance was based on geographic location rather than on need. Travel, accommodations and meals were made for people from the East regardless of their income while westerners were expected to pay for hotels. There was an attitude for example that Americans were rich, **particularly** if they happened to be in Europe. The first night for example, I was told there was floor space for Easterners only. However, People from Western Europe were given floor space. They insisted that the Americans stay in the youth hostile. Personally, the train ride from Beograd and one night in the hostile damn near wiped me out. Claudio, one of the organizers wound up putting me up for which I owe many thanks.

(I personally am not of the opinion that my presence was vital at the conference, and had I been in America, I would not have started a collection to get me over there. I just happened to be staying in Yugoslavia. I assumed that there would be free housing and a little food for people who needed it, with the price being offset through the $ that had been collected. The Italians had some weird ideas though and issued coupons to eat at restaurants at times. If $ was a big issue, the Easterners could have cooked in the Germinal kitchen. There were meals prepared by Germinal—however they didn't want us to help cook them—I was surprised when they finally took up our offer to help clean dishes. -Laure)

We actually received mutual aid from the Easterners who shared their food (particularly when they were given full-menu meals at the restaurant. The Poles jokingly collected money for a Laure A. Earring fund which she gave back to her photo fund.)

Highlights Of The Conference:

We wait for 3 hours in a Chinese restaurant before we get served, and the food finally got there, it was all the wrong dishes. Anarchists respond by stealing all the wine and champagne. Impromptu street demonstration and pow wow on the pier ensue.

Last night of the conference anarchists try to make up rap songs. Organizers of conference get drunk and can be found passed out in various corners of the Germinal.

Worst video ever filmed at a peace camp.

The Women's Meeting

Laure had proposed several workshops at the conference, including ones to talk about sexism, the situation for homosexuals and a discussion of nationalism. The only one that happened was the one on sexism which turned into a women's-only meeting. Objections to the exclusion of men were made by Laure, women from Italy and women from Poland, however, the room was packed and the men were already partying so we really didn't invite them.

Women from Autonómia in Hungary talked about creating a feminist affinity group. Feminism in their country is something that doesn't exist as the official Communist line has been that women have been emancipated. They mentioned some of the problems facing women in their country. Other women expressed desires to see such groups spring up throughout Eastern Europe, as sexism is rampant in most of those societies.

One interesting comment was made by the women from Poland. She said (more or less) that women are often complicit with their situation and must speak up and act for themselves, positive action is the only course to insure non-discriminatory relations. There was a lot of general agreement on that sentiment. Laure proposed the expansion of the general strike against sexual/gender roles.

Most disappointing (or perhaps most interesting aspect) of the conference

One often heard that there were differences between situations in the East and West, but they were not really expounded upon. This created some interesting situations, particularly when various people from the East mentioned voting in local elections and Vladimir mentioned a desire for a market economy. Not realizing that Soviet production, for example, is not carried out with respect to the needs of the people, but rather in accordance with state capitalistic and bureaucratic planning, Western anarchists misunderstood the issue which resulted in the necessity of further discussion of the issue, but only with small groups of individuals. Some people left with the feeling that there were still many misunderstandings left between East and West anarchists, hence the discussion of an East-West, North-South analytical bulletin.

The Poor, The Bad, And The Angry

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By Kevin Keating

The bell rang, I got up, I turned it off. Twenty minutes later I walked through delivery. Miller's Chevy with the capacious trunk was in the lot. That was good. The big clock said it was three or four minutes past, and when I punched my timecard it said 10:08. I was in trouble again. Asshole was coming straight at me from dry storage. I put the card back in the slot. He eyeballed me as he passed. I didn't look back at him. I just went into the office.

I was counting the money in my cash drawer and Asshole came in. This time I kept my eyes on him as he moved across the room, staring at him without blinking, because I know Asshole doesn't like that.

"You're late again, Max."

"Yeah, I'll be on time tomorrow."

"You know, you're fucking up around here."

"No I'm not, man. I was just late, that's all."

"Well...I'm gonna have to write you up." Then he went back to the closet with the safe in it.

I didn't say anything. Being written up was about three steps away from being fired. I took the cash drawer out front. Miller was on register four, and with Miller working everything would be alright. He was my buddy, my partner in crime. Asshole would probably be leaving within a half-hour or forty-five minutes. Then we could all relax and start having fun at his expense.

"Asshole says he's going to write me up for being late again."

Miller made a snorting noise, half-laughing, "Man, fuck him, he's not gonna do anything. Anyway, it's Sunday...."

He smiled, then disappeared to the back of the store.

I think the place used to be a Piggly-Wiggly, or an A&P, or some shit like that. Then Asshole bought it, gutted the interior, redesigned it, and divided the building up. Now the east half of the building is offices, a rental listings place and a travel agency. We work in the market, under bright white lights glaring on black and white tile floors. A produce market, deli and bottle shop. Miller and Asshole had opened at ten. Customers were starting to trickle in; some guy in Italian clothes with an Andre-Breton-look-alike haircut and a clinging female with a Roadrunner haircut. Boutique owners and Volvo-driving hippie-liberals with money to shop here. The store stereo plays dumbbell-rock; music by The Who and the Stones, sound to shop and sleep-walk by. The place feels sterile; it's too white and suspiciously clean. None of us can afford to shop here. But that's okay, because we steal a lot of shit, especially on Sundays.

'Us' is me, Miller, Leslie and Susan. The disloyal employees, The Wild Bunch. There are others who work the rest of the week. This guy Peter works here. I don't include him when I say us. He's some kind of evangelical Christian nutcase who's planning to go to Ecuador after college and fuck the culture of the Jivaro Indians with a Wycliff Bible in the name of Jesus-Christ-Our-Lord.

What a fool. I can see him a few years from now, standing in the middle of the woods somewhere, asking short, dark-skinned men with guns, "Have you been dipped in the blood of the lamb?" I hope they shrink his head. He's the only person who works for Asshole who can't be trusted.

Sunday is employee theft olympics day. Usually Asshole is gone, with a straw up his nose or a glass pipe in his mouth. Leslie, Susan, Miller and I try to rip off as much money, food and alcohol as we can. When I work hard I can almost double my cash income, and that doesn't include the "take-home" items, cases of microbrewery ales, German beers, juices, cheeses, deli items and fresh pasta. I've acquired a taste for Nova Scotia Lox, the kind that melts in your mouth, $21 a pound but I never pay for it. And I'm developing a very discriminating taste for pricey California 'Reds'. He has some dynamite Alexander Valley Cabernets here, the kind that, with the first sip, create a galaxy of bouquets on my palate. I've gotten spoiled and I just can't drink the cheap stuff anymore. There are certain brands and labels that I favor and might even recommend, but obviously I'm not the type to make commercial endorsements. Even given his high volume of sales I can't figure why he doesn't notice the loss. He is an asshole but he is smart and alert. Thus it has been my sweet pleasure to outwit him and take what I want.

Out in the aisles I heard the man and the woman talking, their fashionable images reflected in the anti-shoplifting mirror that lines the upper back wall. The man spoke, his voice was indistinct. Then the woman laughed, the vapid, 'tra-la-la' of that species of monied Californians who go to Western Europe every Summer to buy new clothes.

Leslie and Susan work in the deli. Miller and I work the front registers. When it's not busy we're supposed to stock shelves. Susan is the nominal 'assistant manager' of the store but she's cool. She just doesn't steal as much as the rest of us. Peter is on some kind of religious retreat today, so it should be a free-for-all.

We have a little competition to see who can steal the most. Miller usually wins. Miller is more industrious than me. Last night after closing and loading up he showed me the day's under-rings: two thick wads of bills rolled up with rubber bands, like a crack dealer. I think being in the Army teaches you to work hard like that. Miller says that when he was in the Army, his buddies stole a lot of stuff, and they broke a lot of equipment, too. Sometimes I give away stuff, or undercharge people, but some of these jerks are so loyal to the dictatorship of money and commodities that they get pissed when they catch me undercharging them. They can afford it, so fuck them.

The yups came to my register. They had one item, a bottle of Merlot. I carefully lifted the bottle by the neck, so as not to 'bruise' it. I keyed in $15.99 on the register and, distracting them, I asked the man, "What's this like?"

He pulled a twenty dollar bill out of his wallet, smiled,

"Gorgeous."

When he smiled at me I felt a little perverse urge to swing the bottle by the neck and beat him across the face with it. I hit the 'clear' key and rekeyed in $1.99 and the register opened. I made the change quickly and bagged the wine, hoping he wouldn't ask for the receipt. He didn't ask, just took the change and they split. The twenty would stay in the register. I was going to under-ring $3 with another purchase, then a ten and a five would go into my pocket. I should've waited until Asshole took off, but a single-item $16 purchase was too good to pass up. Now I had to hope Asshole wouldn't start fuckin' around in my register before I could retrieve the money. I thought that Miller was watching what was going on, I saw him smile as he left his register. The yups weren't even out the door before Asshole appeared at my register, frowning, growling: "Let me back in there."

I stepped aside. He went to my register and keyed it open.

Asshole reeked of sweet cologne. I felt the contradiction of the mannish smell being simultaneously appealing and disgusting to me. It made him attractive in a repellent way. My heart sank. He was on to me, he'd count the money and I'd be



Photo by Mikell Zhan

screwed. I tightened the expression on my face to project an impression of diffidence. I thought of the peasant brigand described in a tale by Andreyev. After being confronted with overwhelming proof of his having outraged his masters he still denied it all, and would continue to deny it, to the end of a rope. He would catch me, I would lie, I would lose my job. With no income and rent due in a week I would be kissing goodbye to my windowless basement flat. Soon I might be living in my car. I was mad about all this, but I had no regrets about stealing from his enterprise. I've enjoyed myself thoroughly. Bad conscience is my enemies' weapon, and guilt is for the weak.

All those thoughts ran through my mind in a second or two as he opened the register, gazing passively at the bills in the drawer. I folded my arms, thought of a line from a song;

'All the doctors in Wisconsin sure can't help her none...'

Then he surprised me by closing the drawer and turning the key on the register. He hit another button and opened the transparent plastic door above the register tape. The machine gave an 'X' reading, and he took the spool of tape out of the machine.

"You've got a problem here."

He made an exhaling noise.

"Why are there all these double-zeros on your tape?"

"I don't understand."

"See this? Everytime you have this on your tape you're opening the register without a purchase. Nothing's being sold, but you're going into the register."

"Yeah, obviously. People ask for change for the newspaper machines out front."

"Well, that's bullshit. What this would look like to any neutral observer is that there's some kind of devious bullshit going on here. This tape recorded everything that goes on with this register. Everytime the drawer is opened it shows up on this tape. Like, say, the cashier on this register has been under-ringing purchases then hitting the 'no sale' key to take money out."

"Man, no way. That's for people who want change for the newspaper, or the bus. People come in here, and they ask for change, and that's all that is. Man, that's the truth."

He spooled out the tape until it reached the floor, and spent some minutes carefully examining it. He didn't understand. I would never be so careless as to open the register without a sale to retrieve the money I take. The double-zeros were places where I'd made change for people, just like I said. I've always rung in a minimal purchase to open the register to take money out. I subtracted the minimal purchase from my take. Doing these little math exercises in my head has kept me alert against the reign of boredom in the store. And taking money under the noses of Asshole and his yup-customers has added a little excitement to my workday. It had until that moment.

"I'm not saying you're stealing from the register." He sounded officious. "I'm not accusing you of anything. I'm saying that this is a very logical conclusion to be drawn from what's recorded on your register tape. What I'm saying is that this is what this would look like to any neutral observer. In any case, you're not supposed to make change for those newspaper machines. I don't own them. They don't bring any money into my store."

"Those racks are right in front of the store."

"That's bullshit! I don't make dick out of those machines! I don't give a fuck about what those people think! Look, those machines aren't mine, and I don't make change for them and I don't want to see you opening this register without a sale being made."

"People expect things like that. When you don't give them change they get pissed off at me, they get pissed off at you, and they get pissed off at the store, they leave and they don't come back."

He gave me the tape to spool up and put back in the register. "You can make change for a paying customer, but not for anybody else. I don't want you or anybody else opening a register in this store without a purchase being made, or a pay-out."

"Alright. I understand. I got you."

"Good. Have a nice day." He was leaving without even counting the money in the drawer. I was surprised, relieved and amused that he had fucked up like that. He wasn't thinking clearly. His suspicions were confused. Asshole was on the rampage of a coke-jones' mood swing.

From stereo speakers overhead I heard a 55-year-old billionaire singing about how tough his life is, about his teenage girlfriend leaving him for another man. Roger Daltry must have lead a real blues song existence. My heart bled for him.

Was this a little victory, or just a reprieve? More yups were coming in now. Across the row of empty registers Miller had returned to number four. Miller was playing acoustic air-guitar, squinting his eyes, pursing his lips in an exaggerated way, he held the invisible guitar by the neck and thumped the instrument with a flat palm.

He sang:

"She's got Elgin movements from her head down to her toes/ breaks in on a dollar 'most anywhere she goes."

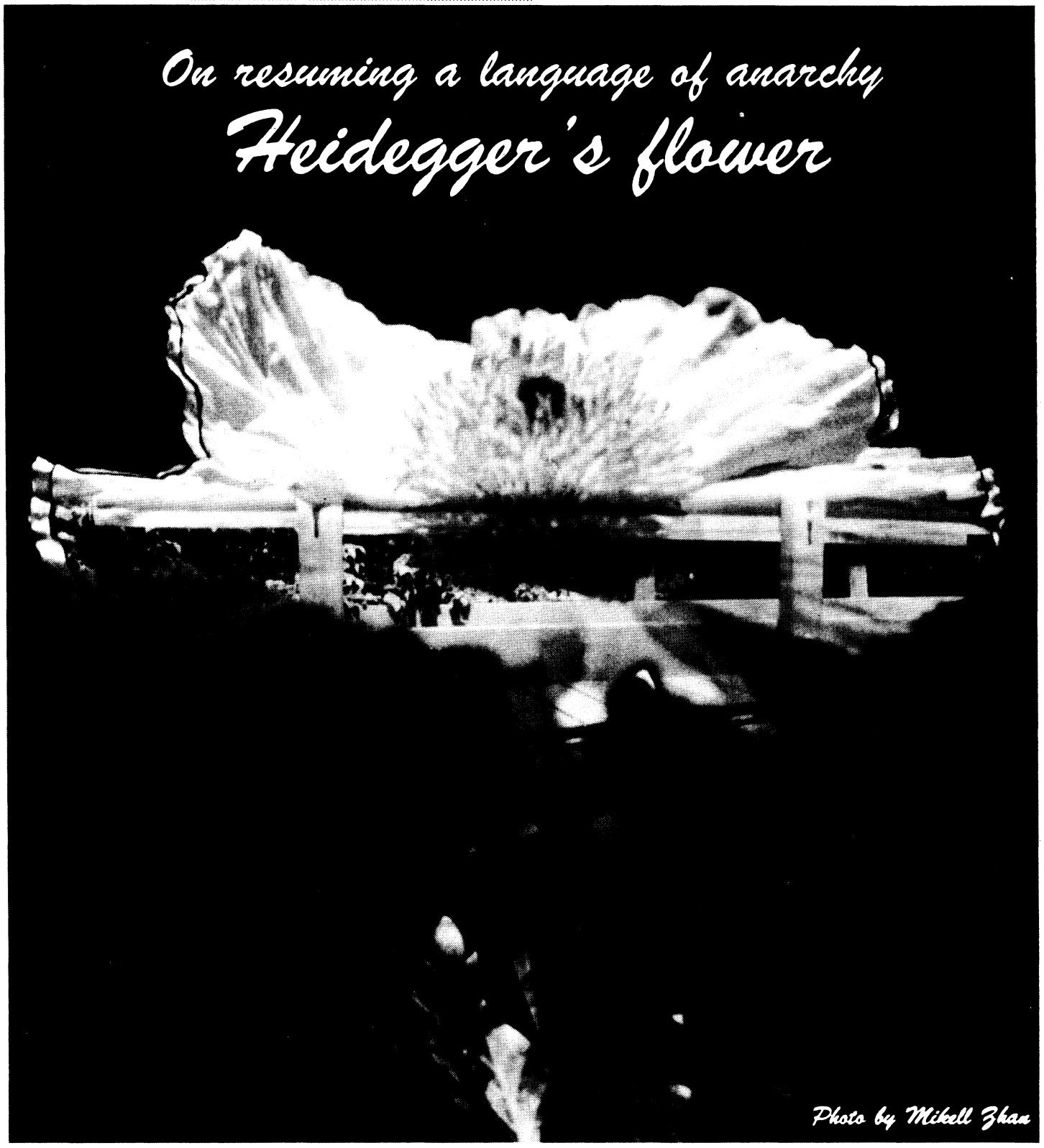
The sun was shining, and I saw Asshole's muscle car pulling out of the parking lot. It had stopped raining just before I'd gotten up. The pavement was extra-black from dampness and the sun was in a rising, Spring position. At 10:30 on a Sunday morning everything was wet and cleansed and fresh. In my head I said to my employer, "No matter how much you pay me, it will never be enough. No matter how little time you take from me, it will always be too much."

I thought that today would be an especially good day.

I pointed at Miller, in recognition, shouting, "Robert Johnson!"

I knew and thought to myself, 'Miller, my friend, you are a mindreader.'

On resuming a language of anarchy
Heidegger's flower



Poetry, as has been said, differs in this respect from logic, that it is not subject to the control of the active powers of mind, and that its birth and recurrence have no necessary connexion with the consciousness or will.

Percy Bysse Shelly,
A Defence of Poetry, 1821

By B. Edna

On Sundays at 6AM we hiked in. Winter storms flooded a stream coming from foothills of the Oregon Coast Range. After the worst storms, the stream washed out a footbridge we encountered in the middle part of our hike. On such days we tied our shoes across our shoulders and waded the stream. The bridge, even when intact, was just two planks wide with a single handrail.

Our destination was a Native American sweat lodge several hundred feet beyond the stream. Here, beginning early in the morning stones were heated in a carefully attended fire pit. By mid-morning they were brought with deer antlers into a dwelling which stood no more than three feet tall and ten feet in diameter. The stones were individually placed in the center of the sweat lodge, a sapling frame draped with chaotic carpet scraps to form an inverted vessel. Inside the vessel, the darkness pointed toward the earth. The vessel mingled the heat and wisdom of stones and the cool solace of wet rust-colored clay.

We sat on the ground and talked as the fire prepared stones that would later be used in the sweat lodge ceremony. A light rain was falling, but we stayed comfortable by moving close to the fire. Al Smith, an elder in the Native American Church, would soon spend his 70th birthday in Washington, DC, far from comfort of this familiar glen. "I'll be watching and listening to the U.S. Supreme Court, to see how they dance," Al said softly. Al, along with another Klamath Indian, Galen Black, were fired from their jobs as State Adult and Family Services drug counselors because they exercised a traditional religious practice involving a "controlled" cactus. The transgression occurred in 1984. Al and Galen then became a legal and political target for the state Attorney General. Al was by now familiar with the many dances of English words.

"The rocks and rivers are living beings. The trees and rocks speak through us. They are with us. They just don't speak in the language of science. We need to learn to listen from our hearts, where we can understand the words of the Earth," Al said later.

How might a river speak? What words might be used? Like a footbridge encountered "on a woodpath,"[1] the work of Martin Heidegger assists those open to an unfamiliar journey with language, those open to a non-anthropocentric dialogue with language.[2] Indeed, Heidegger's writings show the language we presume to be the most private and interior, i.e. poetic language, to instead come from lowly beings such as rivers and rocks, beings which speak despite Western humanist censorships. To follow Heidegger's path means to leave familiar anthropocentric dogmas about human language as a tool or courier that scurries between self and nature.

The "uncomfortable" language awaiting the student of Heidegger might entice some forward with a promise of certain viewpoints attainable only outside the anthropocentric discourses:

1. A view that like Gaia itself language is not a neutral plaything of the anthropocentric self but is essentially biocentric and living beyond the individuals through which "language speaks."

2. A view that the rational scheme of language as representation (i.e. a scheme of Cartesian subject, language too, and external dead world) was not "invented" by Descartes, Kant, Newton, but was a strain of thought developed in language itself thousands of years before it was articulated by the European "Enlightenment."

3. A view that the universe is profuse with living signs—that once the meaning of Heidegger's theme "language speaks" is grasped, Indo-European language loses its anthropocentric privilege. Language speaks through other animals, through technology, and through what were once termed "inorganic processes." Heidegger thus makes a path for semiotics, not by opening language to a structuralist theory of signs or socio-biological reduction, but by freeing semiotics to be experienced as living, caring, feeling (these being previously only human interior phenomenon), and thus allowing such non-anthropocentric semiotics to make meaningless and trivial the reified "scientific" discourse of signs attempted by Cartesian linguistics.

Toward fulfilling such promises, Heidegger's bridge is perhaps no more than a few sticks marking a way of travel into an uncharted destination. Heidegger asks questions that this essay will consider relevant for ecology activists as much as for feminists or poets: "The content of the poem might be dissected even more distinctly, its form outlined even more precisely, but in such operations we would still remain confined by the notion of language that has prevailed for thousands of years. According to this idea language is the expression, produced by men, of their feelings and the world view that guides them. Can the spell this idea has cast over language be broken? Why should it be broken?"[3]

Such questions daily confront activists working to think globally. Activists and nomads struggle daily for breath and speech outside the stifling Regime of Signs ordered by the rigorous prose of television and science. To subvert such paradigm of normal prose requires efforts further than slapping a bumper sticker on a Volkswagen van, although that may be a first step. Further, subversion of the dominant paradigm can take many roads—no claim is made that the path opened by Heidegger is the only path to biocentric thinking.

Indeed, an affirmative answer to the question, "Can the spell be broken?," may already be projected in the shared code of our wolf howl, a howl that has co-evolved on Earth as a semiosis of Gaia, a howl that is today piercing the forest night. Perhaps the howl echoes within earshot of camped sheriffs, who compute and translate reductive parts of the howl into meaning for the anthropocentric subject, into standard designative signage, and who could fill up several blackboards as they diagram out generative transformations for superior authorities.

But Heidegger's approach is more to hear the wolf howl as howl. Heidegger writes about a more direct language dwelling than the cognitive discourse which routinely processes statements such as Al Smith's assertion that, "the rocks and rivers are living beings." Heidegger thus unravels old gimmicks which subjugate native expressions of any kind so that they may properly be matriculated into the Western hegemonic and scientific understanding of the world.

Recent work in anthropological linguistics has demonstrated that the strain of language attributed to the Enlightenment in Europe, the discursive practice that in this article and elsewhere is frequently called rationalism, probably evolved with other types of language for at least thousands of years.[4] A subject/object duality, for example, is apparent in some of the earliest written English. In this light Descartes didn't invent Cartesian dualism, but rather helped articulate a terrain where language had gone before. What rational language lacked in flexibility and creativity, it made up for in aggression. Rational language replicated itself well and deployed a tyrranic denial towards competing language that could not be subsumed.

Of course there are many disclaimers rational language uses to marginalize other voices—statements may be called senseless, schizophrenic, solipsistic, etc. But Heidegger is most concerned with the marginalizing mechanism which converts discourse presenting an alternative ontology, an alternative world-view, into digestible and benign "poetic expression."

This mechanism is found in the humanist narrative of language as a partition of what is "truly human" (i.e. the disembodied self) separate from objects reified (i.e. made impersonal) in an external world. This abyss with two sides is often called dualism. Here, the language used by Descartes and "objective science" looks at all language and sees a manmade tool reducible to three human purposes:

1. **Representation**, language used as a

sign standing in for the real objects "out there." In the idea of representation language merely designates something in the real world and is consequently an inferior mimesis, or copy, of something real.

2. **Cognition**, language that is a math-like structure or hierarchical logic used to order representations.

3. **Expression**, language that comes from inside rather than from the world, emotions, feelings, outcries. Poetic language is said to be born of expression.

Out of the distinction this classical scheme of language makes between "rational" representation and "emotional" expression, a great chasm has eroded in language used by Homo sapiens.[5] Today, designative language, expository writing, clear journalistic prose are concepts valorized and hinged to the apropos rational mind. Apropos is here used to mean clear-seeing—in the same sense that one is said to be clear-seeing who inspects the forest and sees 35,600,000 board feet of old growth fir stumpage and 12,142,000 board feet of second growth fir; who further sees chemicals, structures, and even ecologies. In contrast, one is being muddle-headed, immature, or non-rational to the degree they instead perceive the same forest as living, dancing, speaking, etc. Such clear-seeing discursive language is the enforcer of the familiar status quo of humanist Earth-pillage. Such clear prose is pomp and circumstance for the hegemony of male discourse, for the common sense truths of reduction and ratio, for the enforced superiority of Western imperial intellect.

Poetry with all "fiction," on the other hand, stands segregated from clear "objective-seeing." Poetry is the speech of women and losers. Poetic language is proper in late night coffee-houses, seldom in "serious" journals. Harmless and marginalized madmen use poetry when they talk to trees ("commune with nature" must be taken "figuratively" by those rational.) Like wildflowers which become weeds, the gardener of reason knows that poetry must be acknowledged and can be safely humored in a proper recreational setting, but not in the working garden, not in the technology of realist prose. The field of rational prose has been sterilized with a conscious will and purpose and now only carefully selected word-seeds are permitted to flourish.[6]

Such precaution is prudent in light of the challenges to scientific linguistics and representation that have dogged the field continually and have never been eradicated. For example, as early as 1868 Charles Sanders Pierce offered a semiotic investigation of language, a discourse utterly incompatible with the dogmas of language as representation of an "external" object. "But since man can think only by words or other external symbols, these might turn around and say: 'You mean nothing which we have not taught you, and then only so far as you address some word as the interpretant of your thought.' In fact, therefore, men and words educate each other; each increase of a man's information involves and is involved by, a corresponding increase of a word's information," said Peirce.[7]

Anthropologists Benjamin Whorf and William Sapir found defects in the dogma of representation by means of language field studies they conducted in the 1920s, studies which provided cross-cultural evidence consistent with Peirce. Some cultures, Sapir and Whorf claimed, do not rely on a static self that is assigned to structure and control language—consequently, the Western narratives of language as designation, as medium between subject and object, were found inadequate to "explain" the realities of diverse native cultures. For example, Indo-European rational discourse was unable to "translate" a native reality such as the concept of time found in Hopi language without reducing that reality into trivial metaphor. "We are obliged to say 'it flashed' or 'a light flashed,' setting up an actor 'it,' or 'a light,' to perform what we call an action, 'flash.' But the flashing and the light are the same; there is no thing which does something, and no doing," explains Whorf. "Hopi says only *rehpi*. Hopi can have verbs without subjects, and this gives to that language power as a logical system for understanding certain aspects of the cosmos. A change in language can transform our appreciation of the cosmos."[8] As might be expected, during their lifetimes, Sapir and Whorf were regarded only as minor weeds blighting the garden of anthropocentric linguistics.

But Heidegger's entry into language involves a more profound decentering, a reversal or bifurcation of thought that is absurd or sweeping and revolutionary. Many clear thinkers of academia have found Heidegger's writings to be only difficult or "pointless."

All views perhaps show their bias, but the view here is that people who are "more in tune" with the Earth to begin with have an advantage in understanding what Heidegger says about language and in then reapplying that understanding towards more effective biocentric action. For example, the phrase "the Earth does not belong to man," makes little sense to many who have lived lives filled only with progress and humanism. Such humanists ask, "Well, who does it belong to then?" But in striving for biocentric thought ecology activists gain an "intuition" that may move them beyond biased concepts couched in the word, "belong." Such activists may be more comfortable with the statement, "Humans are part of the Earth."

Someone trying to explain Heidegger's understanding of language might perhaps rashly utter, "Human language does not belong to man!" a statement to which the humanist philologist quickly responds, "Well who does it belong to?"

Heidegger rescues the word "belong" to become a synonym for the words dwelling and thinking. In this light, our student of Heidegger might more humbly answer, "Humans dwell with language as a part of language. They do not **own** language."

Such a biocentric response is consistent with a general decentering critique of humanism coming from radical ecology. George Sessions and Bill Devall in *Deep Ecology*[9] have surveyed many traditions which understand human language far differently from the model provided by the dominating Western linguistics and psychology. Such alternative understandings of language have both "Western" (romanticism or existential philosophy) and non-Western (Native American or Australian Aboriginal culture) sources.

For example, poetic language in diverse literature is recognized by Devall and Sessions as magic which often "moves" us out of prescriptive kernel of soul, ego, or subject:

"This literary tradition, which also includes Mary Austin, D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Robinson Jeffers, William Faulkner, Joseph Wood Krutch, Henry Beston, Anne Dillard, Wallace Stegner, Sigurd Olsen, Frank Waters, Wendell Berry, Edward Abbey, Barry Lopez, Gary Snyder, and others, has called to us to reject the technocratic-industrial worldview and reestablish our roots in Mother Gaia."[10]

For many of these writers, the scientific worldview had stocked an inadequate, mechanistic, and even suicidal concept of language.

Devall and Sessions credit Heidegger with much, including that he "arrived at a biocentric position" beyond "the concepts and language of the rationalist Western philosophical tradition." They recognize that Heidegger bridges the chasm between subject and object. But the summary statements they offer omit Heidegger's large and perhaps most controversial project of liberating language from ego. They instead point to Heidegger's general critique of Greek and Enlightenment anthropocentrism which reifies "nature":

*"First, he provided a major critique and indictment of the development of Western philosophy since Plato. He concluded that his anthropocentric development paved the way for the technocratic mentality which espouses domination over Nature. **Being**, a key ontological concept for Heidegger, was constrained into narrow Christian paths or into secular, humanistic, technological philosophy in the West.*

Second, Heidegger called his readers to the 'dangerous field of thinking.' Thinking, for Heidegger, was closer to the Taoist process of contemplation than to Western analytical thinking.

Third, Heidegger called us to dwell authentically on this Earth, parallel to our call to dwell in our bioregion and to dwell with alertness to the natural processes."[11]

Consistent with the efforts listed above, Heidegger's questioning of the technocratic mentality and the alienated condition of modern life led him repeatedly to language itself. From his 1946 essay "Letter on Humanism" until his death in 1976, Heidegger explored language as an ally of mortals, not a blind accomplice to the purposes, prescriptions, and calculations of the logocentric self. Instead of representation which faithfully or unfaithfully mirrors a static and alien reality, Heidegger showed that by not claiming language, human being could joyously and authentically dwell near to language and other beings.

For Heidegger, the rationalist trickery relies heavily on the concept of metaphor. Metaphor here is a poetic expression about the external "real" world. The world "metaphor" is often preceded by modifying words such as "harmless," "exaggerated," or "fanciful."

But Heidegger uses a poem by Holderlin containing the phrase "words, like flowers" to get beyond metaphor as servant of the anthropocentric world view:

"It would mean that we stay bogged down in metaphysics if we were to take the name Holderlin gives here to 'words like flowers' as being a metaphor....

'Words, like flowers': that is not a 'break in the vision' but the awakening of the largest view; nothing is 'adduced' here, but on the contrary the word is given back into the keeping of the source of its being. There is no lack here of a 'primary statement,' for here the word is brought forth from its inception; no 'weakness of creative transformation' but the gentle force of the singular and innocent capacity to hear."[12]

Earth and sky speak with mortal's language. For speaking this heresy, for finding semiotic dwelling in rocks and trees instead of reciting the catechism of linguistics dispensed by souls, egos, and subjects—for these transgressions we are analyzed and measured in the narrative of official dossiers, listed on wanted posters, etc. We are satisfactorily pigeon-holed as biocentrics, irrational feminists, nomads.

Heidegger earned a label too. Heidegger's personal complicity with the German state during World War II at first mainstreamed his discourse into "official" rhetoric—later that same complicity was used by both neo-fascists, communists, and all ideologies to marginalize his work.[13] In judgement 50 years later of Heidegger's complicity with Hitler's government, we might recall the words of Foucault:

"Do not ask who I am and do not ask me to remain the same: leave it to our bureaucrats and our police to see that our papers are in order. At least spare us their morality when we write."[14]

Human being, with the word human inherited in a pompous connotation far alien to the original Greek *humas*, a word meaning earth, is through Heidegger released from the constricting layers of subjectivity that had been wound on thought and language, wound like burial cloth by Western metaphysics from Plato onward. An expressive dimension of authenticness and feeling is thereby made accessible:

"Thus we always see the nature of language only to the extent to which language itself has us in view, has appointed us to itself. That we cannot know the nature of language—know it according to the traditional concept of knowledge in terms of cognition as representation—is not a defect, however, but rather an advantage by which we are favored with a special realm, that realm where we, who are needed and used to speak language, dwell as mortals."[15]

There is a tangible and now famous bridge in Heidegger's essay, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking." This bridge is reconstructed from Heidegger's youthful memory. The bridge is described as showing a sensitivity to its environment:

"It does not just connect banks which are already there. The banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream...It brings stream and bank and land into each other's neighborhood. The bridge gathers the earth as a landscape around the stream. Thus it glides and attends the stream through the meadows."[16]

Heidegger invites his reader to experience this "humane" bridge as a meditation of "way" and "dwelling." The essay points out that the bridge crosses the Rhine and dwells with the river without destroying the river. Another kind of technology is then contrasted with the bridge—the hydroelectric dam which truncates the flow of the river. The massive construction called the dam is a "building" and a technology which alienates and stifles. If he is nostalgic for the old bridge across the Rhine, the bridge which joins the banks without "using up" the river, Heidegger is more sober in insisting that the hydroelectric plant which destroys the river will not be removed or even questioned by the dam's accomplice servant called discursive reason. Further, egocentric humans are deceived if they think technology is a disinterested "tool." For Heidegger, the ego-bound human becomes instead the tool of technology. "Modern technology, as a revealing which orders, is thus no mere human doing,"[17] Heidegger warns. He uncovers the arrogance of the presumption that technology is controlled by Cartesian egos.

Heidegger sees resistance to the march of destructive technology, but sees the point of resistance coming from the web of language accessible to Homo sapiens, but not language subsumed by them as their "tool":

"The forester who measures the felled timber in the woods and who to all appearances walks the forest path in the same way his grandfather did is today ordered by the industry that produces commercial woods, whether he knows it or not. He is made subordinate to the orderability of cellulose, which for its part is challenged forth by the need for paper, which is then delivered to newspapers and illustrated magazines. The latter, in their turn, set public opinion to swallowing what is printed, so that a set configuration of opinion becomes available on demand...Since man drives technology forward, he takes part in ordering as a way of revealing. But the unconcealment itself, within which ordering unfolds, is never a human handiwork...."[18]

Poetic language, the domain where fanciful images of "Primal Ancient Forest" contend with logical truths of "Old Growth Stumpage," where "river aesthetics and recreation" pale before "the real need for electricity," is the source of the unconcealment that counters alienating technology.

The disempowering of poetic language, for Heidegger, relies heavily on the concept of metaphor. Metaphor is for representative language harmless hyperbole unable to compete with the scientific. Representation stays secure by ordering and reordering monopolistic tables of the real. To representation, the word "metaphor" should always be preceded by clarifying words such as "harmless," "exaggerated," or "fanciful."

Heidegger, to make explication clear, offers his own non-metaphor: "Language is the flower of the mouth. In language the earth blossoms toward the bloom of the sky."[19] Heidegger adds that in such an image dwells the materiality of all authentic language, the materiality that differs following each speaker's dialect:

"Even the simple fact that we Germans call the different manners of speaking in different sections of the country Mundarten,, modes of the mouth, hardly ever receives a thought.

Continued on next page

Heidegger's Flower

Continued from previous page

Those differences do not solely nor primarily grow out of different movement patterns of the organs of speech. The landscape, and that means the earth, speaks to them, differently each time. But the mouth is not merely a kind of organ of the body understood as an organism—body and mouth are part of the earth's flow and growth in which we mortals flourish, and from which we receive the soundness of our roots. If we lose the earth, of course, we also lose the roots."[20]

Earth and sky are active neighbors. Caring, dwelling—these are attributes Heidegger ascribes to close neighbors. Language is also a close neighbor to mortals. "What we try to reflect upon under the name neighborhood of poetry and thinking is vastly different from a mere inventory of notional relations. The neighborhood in question pervades everywhere our stay on this earth and our journey in it."

Now returning to a closer imitation of Real Time through language, or, alternatively, continuing on Heidegger's path that dwells in the now of language: we find a bridge of planks that traverses an Oregon creek. Fog clings to the ground in early sunrise. The creek is swollen with February rains and spreads beyond customary banks. Still in its rush towards the Pacific it finds time to participate in a dialogue with the human visitor. Together, we question the way the Medicine Man's dialogue with the Grandfather is by science reduced to quaint Indian metaphor and soggy spiritualism. Compared to Heidegger's flower of language, the scientific meta-knowledges privilege a language that feels both vicious and pathetic in the age of rain forest decimation and linguistic alienation.

Less alien words flow from the stream which meanders through this Oregon countryside. A person who encounters such words as "face to face" must first experience contingency—to become ungrounded, to not know who you are, to not stand on solid ground, to freely travel on "paths that have heart."[21] Later, "self-knowledge comes not from introspection, from an inquiry into a putative 'inner world' of autonomous consciousness and sense-constituting acts—but from reflection upon the field of expressions in which one finds oneself, individually and socially."[22]

Heidegger bridges discursive prose into the opening provided by poetic language. Heidegger tells us the abyss between them is only a spell of sorcery. "Can the spell be broken? Why should it be broken? In its essence, language is neither expression nor an activity of man. Language speaks."

And further: "Language speaks. Man speaks in that he responds to language. This responding is a hearing."[23]

Notes

1. David Krell, in his introduction to *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), describes Heidegger's use of the German word *Holzwege*, or "woodpath": "To be "on a woodpath" is a popular German expression meaning to be on the wrong track or in a cul-de-sac: to be confused and lost. Hence the French translators of Heidegger's *Holzwege* call it *Chemins qui menent nulle part*, "ways that lead nowhere." This is not quite true: woodpaths always lead somewhere—but where they lead cannot be predicted or controlled.

2. "Those" signifies us products of liberal Western education and culture.

3. Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper, 1971), pp.196-7.

4. See Mary LeCron Foster, "Meaning as Metaphor," in **Quaderni Di Semantica**, Vol.III, No.1, June 1982, pp.95-101.

5. David Hume, in 1758, divided clear representations such as "gold" or "mountain" from what he terms impressions, thoughts which involved more vague perceptions and/or more intense feelings. See David Hume, "An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding," in *Essential Works of David Hume* (New York: Bantam, 1965), pp.52-3.

6. Some anarchist and biocentric publications follow protocol and print hard to digest words on a page separate from essays easy to digest in the gullet of discursive reason.

Another expression of this division developed at the 1989 Earth First! Oregon Rendezvous. Two groups stood no more than 30 feet apart. The larger group, numbering perhaps 100 (most of whom were sophomores in environmental studies at the U. of O.), focussed around the campfire. For 2 hours Saturday evening they reasoned and debated whether they should join the Grants Pass Memorial Day Timber Parade by jumping in at the beginning, the middle, or the end of the procession. No poem or song broke the seriousness of detailed planning. The irony was that the intelligence had been faulty and there in fact was to be no parade in Grants Pass on Memorial Day.

The smaller group, numbering perhaps 25 (most of whom were anarchist Stumps Suck!ers from Seattle), loitered about the margins and periodically clustered under the kitchen tarp. For two hours they sang nonsense songs, passed beers, imagined wild monkey-wrenches, talked wild philosophies, and chanted "Bullshit!" toward the main group. The irony was that the more they were ignored by the main group, the more beer they drank. The more they demanded attention and the more disruptive they became, the more they were ignored by the main group.

7. See Charles S. Peirce, "Some Consequences of Four Incapacities," in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce* (New York: Dover, 1955), p.249.

8. Benjamin Lee Whorf, "Language, Mind and Reality," in *Language, Thought & Reality* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1956), pp.262-3.

9. See Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1985).

10. Ibid., p.83.

11. Ibid., p.98

12. Martin Heidegger, *On the Way to Language* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p.100.

13. For a chronicle of Heidegger's teaching career under the Nazi state, see George Steiner's biography, *Martin Heidegger* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), pp.116-126.

14. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p.17.

15. Heidegger, *On the Way to Language*, p.134.

16. Ibid., p.330.

17. Martin Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," in *Basic Writings*, p.300.

18. Ibid., pp.299-300.

19. Heidegger, *On the Way to Language*, p.99.

20. Ibid., p.98.

21. Carlos Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* (New York: Pocket Books, 1974), p.11.

22. Robert E. Innis, "Introduction to Charles S. Peirce," in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p.2.

23. Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, pp.197, 210.

Language that does not clarify

By John Zerzan

The postmodern/post-structuralist approach is the "in" mode of thinking today. The style is vague, open-ended, tending toward the poetic or elliptical. It is also ahistorical and "de-centered," meaning, among other things, a disinterest in origins and a denial that the whole can be grasped. "Heidegger's flower" expresses this practice rather completely, which alone would make it worth discussing.

The major deficiencies of B. Edna's essay are, in fact, closely related to its qualities in exemplifying postmodernism. The precious tone of the piece is itself rather revealing, calling to mind Adorno's characterization of Heidegger's terminology and usage as the "**jargon** of authenticity." Edna follows Heidegger in preferring a language that poses as intimate and revealing, while dismissing clear prose as cold and rationalistic. A favorite story of Heidegger's, supposedly fraught with meaning, is of himself seeking counsel from an old peasant he encounters, who imparts immeasurable wisdom by a shake of his head. Similarly, Edna's lengthy treatment of language seems to come down to: poetic language is good, non-poetic language is evil, as if nature and the native people he cites necessarily agree with the political outlook of himself or Heidegger. Is subordinating the words and world-view of the Indian elder to Heidegger's philosophy qualitatively better than the dominant society's trivializing of those words and world-view as "superstition"? One can appreciate the primitive without swallowing Heidegger's mystifications.

Beneath the rambling poeticizing about language lies what I think is the more substantive issue: technology. And Edna is virtually silent here, possibly because he knows how absurdly weak was Heidegger's approach to it. For all of Heidegger's valid condemning of technology as a central problem in the dehumanizing of humanity, he did not espouse any material change in the technological world. Rather, his solution was the concept "releasement toward things." In brief, the answer to the growing enslavement of the individual is in letting things "be what they are," in letting them have their "true character"—in a mere change of attitude, which somehow releases an "aspect of our relation to Being."

It is exactly this kind of dishonest sophistry the Nazis used in their sloganeering, among the promises of which was the solution to soul-less, rampant technology. Edna mentions "Heidegger's complicity with Hitler's government," only to excuse it by means of a Foucault quote, monstrously misappropriated, about the small value of consistency. I would be very surprised if Edna is unaware of the recent attention to Heidegger's involvement—before, during, and after Hitler's reign—as active partisan of National Socialism. Victor Farias's *Heidegger and Naziism* (1988) and Hugo Ott's *Martin Heidegger* (1989) have been subjected to thorough public scrutiny and their verdicts concur: Heidegger committed crimes in the service of Nazi philosophy and never wavered in his belief in the "inner truth and greatness" of that hideous movement.

"On resuming a language of anarchy" seems a complete afterthought as subtitle of this contribution. What connection it might have to anything radical is very much beyond me. Edna seems to have learned nothing from the fatal flaw of his icon, the failure of language that does not clarify and thus remains in the service of domination.

Polemic which does not liberate

By Lev Chernyi

As the postmodernist/post-structuralist theoretical turn has become more popular for academics grown bored with traditional theories, their enthusiasm for relatively empty word-play has begun filtering down into the ranks of socialists, feminists and environmentalists. So far, the anarchist milieu has been largely spared this experience. However, even with the prevailing climate of anarchist anti-intellectualism it's possible we'll soon see "poststructuralist anarchism" become a hot topic for aspiring theorists. The problem with this is that poststructuralism has little to offer anarchist theory, while anarchist theory stands to lose its critical edge when and if it is processed by the postmodernist sausage-grinder.

If the primary aim of radical/anarchist theory is to reveal the structures of domination & alienation in order to facilitate our attempts at liberation, then theory must remain free from dogmatic commitments. There are many variants of poststructuralism—whether they find their inspiration in Nietzsche, or in those influenced by him like Heidegger. Unfortunately, they all seem to require "surrender" to dogmatic metaphysical assumptions whose usefulness to liberatory discourse remains doubtful at best.

In Heidegger's case (leaving aside his disgusting support for Naziism itself) these dogmatic assumptions involve a semi-mystical ontology of "Being" that reduces actual, living human *beings* to metaphysical ciphers subordinated to the fullness of *Dasein* ("Human Being"). This is not to say that Heidegger's thought is worthless through and through, only that the value of the insights he articulated must be considered largely outside of his deadening and pompous ontology.

The problem here is not that Heidegger's critique of the rationalism of the Western philosophical tradition goes too far, in fact it doesn't go *far enough*. By insisting that Being must underlie all human experience, rather than admitting that pre-subjective lived experience always underlies the categories of ontology, Heidegger ends up recreating on a new plane the dualism of reality and appearance that he criticized in Western philosophy—at least from Plato onwards. Certainly, there is a liberatory impulse concealed in Heidegger's thinking, just as there is one concealed in poststructuralist literary gymnastics, and even in the ideological breast-beating of biocentrism. But in each case, one cannot ignore the larger, non-liberatory context in which each chooses to dwell.

As has been pointed out in these pages before, the polemical strategies employed by the advocates of biocentrism all center on claims to a moral high-ground whose defining feature seems to be its absolute submissiveness to the imagined demands of a reified "Nature." So it isn't too hard to understand how this type of surrender to Nature can become a model for surrender to further reified (& deified) categories like "Language" or "Being." Nor does it take any superhuman mental powers to deduce that each of these deified categories requires the demonization of its assumed contrary. For biocentric theorists the demon is anthropocentrism, just as the deification of Nature requires demonization of the human, and the deification of poetic Language the demonization of rational everyday discourse.

But for liberatory theory the point is never to simply take sides in battles over allegiance to contrary intellectual categories. Each distinction we make provides us with an opportunity to explore the liberatory possibilities of *both* sides of the prior whole that has been cleaved in two. Language may not be "simply a vehicle of individual expression, a tool to facilitate action," however it is also not simply an entity in itself which merely uses human beings as a vehicle for its own (or Nature's) disclosures. Rather, liberatory theory requires a critical, dialectical approach which fetishizes neither rational discourse nor poetry, but values both. The natural world may not be merely a resource to be used by humanity, but neither is it simply an entity over and above human life. Liberatory theory requires neither biocentrism nor anthropocentrism.

Columns

The Iconoclast's Hammer by Feral Faun

The anarchist subculture: A critique. Part 1

"...the absence of imagination needs models; it swears by them and lives only through them."

It's easy to claim that there is no anarchist movement in North America. This claim frees one from having to examine the nature of that movement and what one's role is in it. But a network of publications, bookstores, anarchist households, squats, gatherings and correspondence connecting those with anti-capitalist, anti-statist perspectives most certainly does exist. It has crystallized into a subculture with its mores, rituals and symbols of "rebellion." But can a subculture create free individuals capable of making the lives they desire? The anarchist subculture certainly hasn't. I hope to explore why in this article.

The anarchist subculture certainly does encompass apparently rebellious activity, historical exploration, social analysis (theory), creative play and explorations into self-liberation. But these do not exist as an integrated praxis aimed at understanding society and opening possibilities for us to create our lives for ourselves, but rather as social roles, occasionally overlapping, but mostly separate which function mainly to maintain themselves and the subculture which creates them and which they, in turn, create.

Politically correct militants dominate radical action in this subculture. They deny the need for social analysis. After all, the issues have already been laid out by left liberals—feminism, gay lib, anti-racism, animal lib, ecology, socialism, opposition to war—add a dash of anti-statism and, by god, it's anarchism! Well, ain't it? To guarantee that no one can doubt their anarchist credentials, anarchist militants will be sure to shout the loudest at demonstrations, burn a few flags and be prepared to battle cops, fascists and RCPers whenever possible. What they won't do is analyze their activities or their role as militants to see if they are really in any way undermining society or if they are merely playing its loyal opposition, reinforcing it by reinforcing their own role within its spectacle. Their refusal of analysis has allowed many of them to delude themselves into believing that they are part of a mass movement of rebellion which must be converted to anarchism. But no such mass movement exists on this continent, and the activities of the militants are mainly a letting off of steam in rituals of opposition that only reinforce their place in the anarchist subculture.

Anarchist historians are mostly professors, publishers and bookstore operators, interested in keeping information about anarchist history available. Most of these people are well-meaning, but they fail to apply critical analysis to their histories. The vast majority of anarchist historical material seems to serve a myth-making purpose, creating heroes, martyrs and models to imitate. But all of these models have failed in creating more than temporary anarchic situations. This should, at the very least, lead to a questioning of how and why they failed that goes beyond the simplistic claim that they were crushed by the authorities. The lack of such analyses has rendered anarchist history largely useless to present struggles against authority, turning it instead into the same thing for the anarchist subculture that mainstream history is for society at large, a myth that upholds the present order of things.

Certain anti-authoritarian theorists have intellectually attacked the most basic underpinnings of society in ways that reveal their role in our domestication. The theorists' examination of these things has even led some of them to drop the label "anarchist," though their rejection of authority and connection to the subculture through their writings and friendships continues their role within it. And for all the depth of their intellectual exploration, a certain level of work refusal, shoplifting and minor vandalism seems to be the sum of their practice. Because they do not explore practical ways of expressing rebellion against the totality of domination revealed by their critiques, these critiques lose their edge as radical theory and seem more like philosophy. No longer being a tool for active rebellion, their thought instead becomes a means of defining the intellectual edge of anarchic thought, a means by which to determine whether an idea is radical enough. In this way, the role of the intellectual is perpetuated in the anarchist subculture.

Creative play has also been specialized within the subculture. Forgetting the critique which calls for the supersession of art through spontaneous, creative, free play by everyone, mail artists, performance artists and "anti-artists" claim this category as their own, destroying spontaneity and freedom, and valorizing the activity as art. Many of the activities of these people —festivals, wild poetry readings, improvisational noise jam sessions and interactive theater—can be a lot of fun and are worth participating in on that level, but, placed within the framework of art, their subversive bite is dulled. In valorizing creativity, these artists have made it more important to "be creative" than to have fun, and have reduced their critique to the level of whether something can be utilized in creating art. The creative process is recuperated into a form of productive labor making works of art. Play is transformed into performance. Acts of detournement become spectacles in mail-art shows. Subversion is recuperated by society as art. Ignoring the fact that art is a social and cultural category, anarchic artists claim that art opposes culture, but their activities create for them the role of cultural workers within the anarchist subculture.

When the situationists said that revolutionary praxis needed to become therapeutic,they had no idea that certain North American anarchists would find ways to wed this and a few other half-digested situationist ideas to new age psychotherapies—but, gee, those Yanks (and Canadians) sure are inventive, ain't they? New age therapies came into the anarchist subculture largely through feminist, gay lib and related movements. The reason given for practicing these therapies is self-discovery and self-liberation. But all psychotherapies—including those of humanist and "third force" psychologists—were developed to integrate people into society. When feminists, gay liberationists and similar groups began using therapeutic techniques, it helped integrate individuals into a common framework from which they would view the world and act on it. Anarcho-therapists have adapted such practices as meditation, play therapy, support groups and separate spaces. Meditation is really just a form of escape, without the physical damages of drinking or drugs. It eases the stresses of daily life, keeping them from becoming too much to bear. It can, thus, be useful, but it is not self-liberating. Play as therapy, like play as art, loses its subversive edge. Its parameters defined, it becomes a safe release, a letting off of steam, rather than a true breaking out with all the risks that involves. It does not present a challenge to authority or the work ethic, because it is play safely ensconced in the framework of productive usefulness and brings out the chaotic energy that could otherwise challenge authority within a safely ordered framework. Support group therapy is a particular insidious form of self-deception. A group of people get together to talk about a common problem, burden or oppression they supposedly share. This practice immediately removes the problem from the realm of daily life, of individual relationships and particular circumstances, into the realm of "our common oppression" where it can be fit into an ideological framework. Support groups are formed with a particular purpose (otherwise, why form them?) which will shape the workings of the group, bias the conclusions drawn and mold the participants into the framework of the group ideology. The creation of separate spaces (women's only, gay only, etc.) reinforces the worst tendencies of support group therapy, by guaranteeing that no outside element can penetrate. Anarchists blithely ignore the authoritarian and propertarian implications of this practice and its inherent bigotry, excusing them because it is the practice of an oppressed group. All of these therapeutic forms separate people from their daily life experience and place them in a separate "therapeutic" realm where they can be readily integrated into a particular social and ideological framework. In the case of anarcho-therapists, it is the framework of the anarchist subculture and the role they play in it.

Most of the people I've met in the anarchist subculture are sincere people. They truly want to rebel against authority and destroy it. But they are products of society, trained to distrust themselves and their desires and to fear the unknown. Finding a subculture in place with roles to which they can adapt themselves, it is much easier to fall into the role or roles with which they feel most comfortable, secure in the knowledge that they are part of the rebel milieu, than to truly take the leap in the dark of living for themselves against society. And these "anarchist" roles plug into a social structure and a way of relating to the world at large that are equally essential to the anarchist subculture and which also need to be examined.

(To be continued)

The nihilist's dictionary by John Zerzan

Artificial intelligence, artificial life

Though somewhat slowed in the past decade, the pursuit of Artificial Intelligence proceeds apace toward the highest moment of science and technology so far. The achievement of AI would mark a qualitative change in the actions, culture and self-perception of the human race, and what underlines this is how far this departure has already taken place.

Ten years ago Marvin Minsky described the brain as a three pound computer made of meat, an outlook echoed since by other AI theorists, such as the Churchills. The computer is constantly serving as a metaphor for the human mind or brain, so much so that we tend to see ourselves as thinking machines. Note how many mechanical terms have crept into the common vocabulary of human cognition.

It is the whole train of mass production, with its linearism and homogenization, that carries forward toward the currency of machine models, toward the non-individual and non-sensual and away from the sense of the natural and the whole. With the movement of AI (and robotics) the human becomes inessential. **Humanness** becomes inessential.

The computational metaphor that sees mind as an information-processing or symbol-manipulating machine has produced a psychology which looks to machines for central concepts. Cognitive psychology grounds itself in the mathematical orientation of information theory and computer science. Indeed, the field of AI is now co-extensive with that of cognitive psychology and philosophy of mind. Computer modeling reigns from academic disciplines even to popular usage.

In 1981 Aaron Sloman and Monica Croucher wrote "Why Robots Will Have Emotions," which calls to mind **Psychology Today** for December 1983, dedicated to the "Affectionate Machine," a limitless tribute to the promise of AI. In the January 1990 **Scientific American**, to shift to the present, John Searle asks, "Is the Brain's Mind a Computer Program?" while Patricia Smith Churchill and Paul Churchill pose the standard "Could a Machine Think?" The tentative answers are, I believe, less important than the presence of such questions.

Continued on next page

Columns

Artificial intelligence, artificial life

Continued from previous page

Thirty years ago Adorno could already see the contemporary diminishing and deforming of the individual at the hands of high tech, and its impact on critical thought. "The computer—which thinking wants to make its own equal and to whose greater glory it would like nothing better than to eliminate itself—is the bankruptcy petition of consciousness." Even earlier (1950) Alan Turing predicted that by the year 2000 "the use of words and general educated opinion will have altered so much that one will be able to speak of machines thinking" without fear of contradiction. His forecast clearly dealt not with the state of machines but with a prevailing future ethos. Growing alienation brings a sea-change regarding the whole subject, which ultimately includes a re-definition of what it means to be human. Finally, perhaps, even "emotions" of computers will be recognized and will be confused with what is left of human sensibilities.

Meanwhile, the computer simulations of physicist Steven Wolfram supposedly replicate freely-occurring physical processes, leading to the dubious conclusion that nature itself is one vast computer. On a more tangible, if even eerier plane, is the effort to create synthetic life via computer simulation, the progress of which was the big news from the second Artificial Life Conference at Santa Fe in February 1990. What it means to be alive is also undergoing a cultural redefinition.

Relatedly, another wonderful development is the Human Genome Project of the National Institutes of Health, a $3 billion government attempt to decipher the 3 billion digit genetic sequence that encodes human growth. The massive Genome Project is yet another example of the dehumanizing paradigms engulfing us: one Nobel laureate has asserted that knowing the whole sequence would tell us what human beings really **are**. Add to this awful reductionism the potential vistas the project opens up for genetic engineering.

Computerized neuroscience, joined by AI, is pointed toward an interface of the artificial and the human on a deep neurological level. The trend, if unchecked, proposes nothing less than the cyborganization of the species, including the possibility of permanent genetic changes in us.

In the February 5, 1990 **Forbes**, David Churchbuck wrote of "The Ultimate Computer Game: Why Settle for the Real Thing if You Can Live in a Dream that Is Safer, Cheaper and Easier to Manipulate? Computers Will Soon Make Such a World Possible." His lengthy subtitle refers to the advent of "cyberspace" games that simulate total environments, a quantum leap from video games! Quite a testimony to increasing passivity and isolation in an increasingly artificial and empty world.

Those who still see technology as "neutral," a mere "tool" existing apart from the dominant values and social system are criminally blind to the will to nullity of a death-trip culture.

An imagining passion by noa

Stupid Stuff To Read

In case you haven't noticed, the world's powerful forces of domination are doing a pretty good job of keeping you and me in line. Sure, I find ways to stir up some tension here and relieve a little there, but by and large I'll be here for a while, die, and leave the world with a wry laugh knowing that the whole planet will muddle around a while until it's too late and all the pundits and theorists will think if only they'd done this or hadn't done that.

In the meantime, I have a few decades left, I hope. And a lot of hope too, though it won't be quite as all-transforming as, say, the wonderful vision of the Living Theater's "Paradise Now." It's a hope which is profoundly irrational which is willing to let go of critical theory and indeed all theory, even as it makes up fantasies and ideas, improvises and plays, lets itself be foolish and absurd. The pontifications, self-righteous cynicism, and abstract philosophical discourse of even those whom I feel I am most sympathetic to (e.g. anti-ideological anarchists, outrageous nihilists, sensitive and caring utopians) increasingly feel as heavy as the Roman Catholicism of my childhood, the conservatism of my adolescence and the confrontational demeanor of my young adulthood. The self-censoring of creative possibilities occurs when one has one or more cognitive sets towards social phenomenon. What is lost is wonder: the ability to take in aesthetic discordance as well as aesthetic euphoria and to see the latter in the former and the former in the latter.

I think it's okay to find comfortable little niches. I have my cushy little job, you have your cushy little project, she has her regular old relationship, he has his music collection. We gather with this group, but can't tolerate that one. And then there are comfortable niches in thinking: "I'm an anarchist (of this or that variety)," "I'm against sexism, racism, violence and don't watch TV," etc. ad nauseam.

But all this becomes less and less interesting to me with each passing month. I'm wondering whether you and me are people who can communicate with each other, sharing thoughts and feelings about what we need and want here and now. Can we touch, comfort, and nurture one another. Can we cooperate in freely chosen projects as relative peers or will there be de facto control by a subset of the whole group.

Can we watch a video that you'd never dream of watching? Invite some of the biggest assholes we know over to supper? Can we surprise you, embarrass me and accept one another's faults?

I want to do more and more of this because I want to make community—and not just community among our gang, but community among lots of overlapping groups of people. Not so we can accomplish this or that preconceived objective, but because community in and of itself is empowering and liberating. When people form bonds, they naturally look out for one another. How will I know what my blind spots are if I'm afraid to break the orthodoxy of the group and suspend my preconceptions many ways?

My goals right now are fairly modest; the spirit behind them is almost grandiose... Look at habits in everyday interactions which result in self-protective, nonsharing contact rather than taking some risks and getting past the habitual veneer. Automatic negative reactions cue opportunities to re-experience something that you haven't taken in for a while. I never ate cauliflower as a child, now I love it. I still hate olives but I eat one once in a while trying to imagine why some people enjoy them. It's easy to be smug and all-knowing. It's more challenging to try to actually sense the odd reality of the other as the other does.

The world is full of stupid stuff to read, horrible smells, amazing fixes on life. And there are lots of us people out here hurting and well-defended against the healing upheaval of everything that saves us from one another.

But there's these little jewels I'm finding everyday in the unlikeliest of places and they aren't at all like my formerly precious stones. Too bad all the energy that is being spent to control, to win hearts and minds, to maintain identity in a world soon gone won't find ways to gather in joy and love. Won't let pain take its natural course.

A good cry, a good massage, the quiver of now for what it is, that's all. And then goodbye to all that jazz.

Notes toward a statement of principles by boog

Technology

To be human is to use tools. To be "anti-technology" is thus at some level to be anti-human. Although sometimes I, too, wonder if civilization is a good idea, this is mostly just tongue-in-cheek pseudo-intellectual cynicism. As long as we're living and working in the material world we need to accept the fact of human civilization with all its faults and come to grips with technology.

Technology is not value-free. Although it would be too broad an assertion to say that technology **determines** social relations, the use of any technology is compatible with only a limited range of social relations. In a given society, the development of a more powerful technology than that currently existing does not inevitably lead to the adoption of the new technology and the displacement of the old. However, once social conditions are favorable, the new technology will be adopted and it will alter its social environment to favor its own further development.

The level of technological determinism is affected by the prevailing social and economic relations. In a traditional society with strong social cohesion there is a relatively low level of technological determinism. In a market-oriented society with a money economy there is a high level of technological determinism. Thus the Greeks understood the principles of the steam engine, but treated it as a curiosity and used it only to create magical effects in their temples. Watt's "invention" of the steam engine had a somewhat different effect on 18th century England.

The development of the internal combustion engine has had an even greater impact. Mechanization of agriculture has all but eliminated the self-sufficient farm. The automobile has destroyed the city and the small community, replacing them with endless acres of suburbs filled with strangers alienated from their work, their environment, and each other. Television has effectively destroyed regional cultures. Modern communication and transportation systems are obviously incompatible with community. Like Wes Jackson says, "high energy destroys information."

The response of Amish and Mennonite groups to 20th century technology illustrates this point. The Amish and Mennonites are Christian sects characterized by strong communities and simple living. Most accept modern technologies, but only up to seemingly arbitrary limits. Some groups, for instance, allow gasoline engines for powering stationary devices such as washing machines, but not for vehicles. Some allow tractors but not cars. Some allow electricity in the barn, but not in the house. These restrictions are reminiscent of religious taboos in some cultures, and seem to perform similar functions. These restrictions represent a refusal by these groups to submit to technological determination of their social relations. Amish and Mennonite community relations are far less mediated by money and commodities than those in the surrounding culture. They therefore retain enough community social control to set limits on their technology, and they have, for the most part, been able to maintain thriving communities while community has been eradicated all around them.

Technology that is complex beyond the understanding of the people dependent on it is a threat to freedom. Such technology disenfranchises people by taking away from them the power to make the decisions that affect their lives and placing it in the hands of "experts." Autonomy and self-management demand a technology that is subservient to its users. If you depend on something, you need to know how to fix it.

Technology that demands centralization and vast concentrations of capital similarly is incompatible with autonomy. Consensus and democratic decision-making work only in small groups. Mass organizations such as the modern factory demand hierarchy, coercion, and authority for their functioning. Many existing production technologies are capable of being organized in much smaller units than they are normally found today--from the beginning, centralized factory production was instituted not for economies of scale but to facilitate control of labor. However, some tech-

nologies, such as automobile production and nuclear power, by their nature demand big capital and centralized production and are thus inherently authoritarian.

Environmentally destructive technologies are the social equivalent of spending one's capital. If you live only on interest you can do it forever, but if you use up your capital it's gone and there isn't any more. Dependence on such technology means sacrificing the well being of the planet and of future generations of humans for our own immediate material interests.

Thus an anarchist society must be based on technology that is simple, decentralized, and environmentally sound. In practice, this means that we must change the way we live our lives to end our dependence on the coercive & destructive technologies, and we must also organize resistance to such abusive technologies.

Examples of such practical anarchy include:
--buying and growing more local foods and organizing marketing co-ops for local organic producers
--riding your bike instead of driving your car and fighting the new highway project
--chopping your own firewood and fighting nuclear power plants
--blowing up your TV and doing street theater.

The Luddites were right!

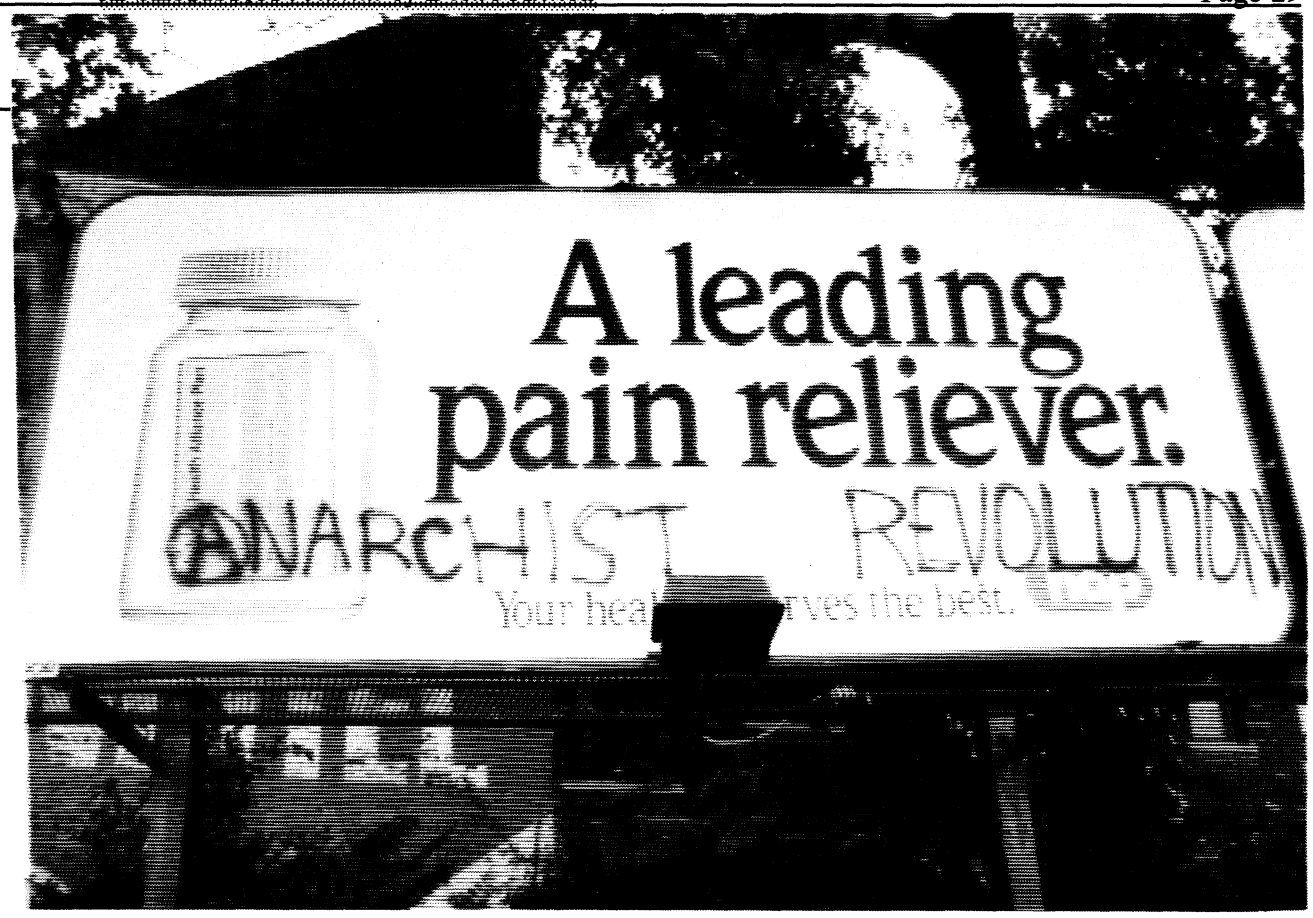


Photo by Sunfrog (POB 11589, Detroit, MI. 48211).

A's for Attitude

Most people believe they need the state, too

"Hierarchy is domination of thoughts, dominion of mind!

We are hierarchic to this day, kept down by those who are supported by thoughts. Thoughts are sacred.

But the two are always clashing, now one and now the other giving offence; and this clash occurs, not only in the collision of two men, but in one and the same man. For no cultured man is so cultured as not to find enjoyment in things too, and so be uncultured; and no uncultured man is totally without thoughts. In Hegel it comes to light at last what a longing for things even the most cultured man has, and what a horror of every 'hollow theory' he harbours. With him reality, the world of things, is altogether to correspond to the thought, and no concept is to be without reality. This caused Hegel's system to be known as the most objective, as if in it thought and thing celebrated their union. But this was simply the extremest case of violence on the part of thought, its highest pitch of despotism and sole dominion, the triumph of mind, and with it the triumph of ***philosophy****. Philosophy cannot here after achieve anything higher, for its highest is the* ***omnipotence of mind****, the almightiness of mind.*

Spiritual men have ***taken into their head*** *something that is to be realized. They have* ***concepts*** *of love, goodness, and the like, which they would like to see* ***realized****; therefore they want to set up a kingdom of love on earth, in which no one any longer acts from selfishness, but each one 'from love'. Love is to* ***rule****. What they have taken into their head, what shall we call it but—****fixed idea****? Why, their head is* ***haunted****! The most oppressive spook is* ***Man****. Think of the proverb, 'The road to hell is paved with good intentions.' The intention to realize humanity altogether in oneself, to become altogether man, is of such ruinous kind; here belong the intentions to become good, noble, loving, and so forth."*

The Ego and its Own by Max Stirner, pp.95-6.

"He who lives for a great idea, a good cause, a doctrine, a system, a lofty calling, may not let any worldly lusts, any self-seeking interest, spring up in him. Here we have the concept of clericalism, or, as it may also be called in its pedagogic activity, schoolmasterliness; for the idealists play the schoolmaster over us."

The Ego and its Own by Max Stirner, pp.97-101.

"I say: liberate yourself as far as you can, and you have done your part; for it is not given to everyone to break through all limits, or, more expressively: not to everyone is that a limit which is a limit for the rest. Consequently, do not tire yourself with toiling at the limits of others; enough if you tear down yours. Who has ever succeeded in tearing down even one limit ***for all men****? Are not countless persons today, as at all times, running about with all the 'limitations of humanity'? He who overturns one limit of* ***his*** *limits may have shown others the way and the means; the overturning of* ***their*** *limits remains their affair."*

The Ego and its Own by Max Stirner, p.187.
(Thanks to Max Stirner)

Sound familiar? Sound like laissez-faire, laissez passer? Pasarán or no pasarán: that is the question.

Can propaganda represent the hierarchy of thought; is an authority established when one decides that his or her ideas are more practical, better, more realistic, or more beneficial to personkind. And have anarchists become just another group of schoolmasters seeking the dominion of their thoughts?

Stirner investigated these concepts in 1845, and today in 1987 they're still of great importance. Some anarchists believe, like Stirner, that one must not try to change another; that their development is their affair. Some say that it's an authoritarian attitude that believes he or she knows what is better for the rest. Logically it follows then that propaganda or direct action are attempts to convince or coerce others to submit to the supremacy of your ideals. Or does it?

Do you believe in the right to propagandise or not? Go ahead; take a stand. Most anarchist propaganda is based merely on the assumption that anarchist society, whatever that may be, will be better for everyone than anything else. What does this mean? Obviously an anarchist must therefore believe in this ideal and have no faith in the existing system; if not he or she would not bother to **be** an anarchist. All propaganda, all anarchist writings must be seen as it is: an attempt to persuade the reader or listener to consider or accept the view of the propagandist. To believe in the right to produce propaganda, one must believe in the right of the propagandist to attack any issue he or she sees fit; to deny this would either be a denial of propaganda as a concept or a denial of unapproved propaganda, that is propaganda you don't approve of or propaganda that has not been legitimised by the 'elite' society of propagandists. So what's it gonna be anarchists?

Direct action, terrorism and murder also serve the function of propaganda. In direct action the propagandists just take a more active approach to the situation. Direct action is more than property destruction; direct action is saying that I'm not gonna take it anymore, and here's what I'm gonna do. And although it may be argued that any of these things may comprise acts of authority, it is the **reaction** to authority that causes these actions; authority exercises its authoritarian right to deny all anti-authoritarian proposals. Sometimes we are forced into force.

Many anarchists say leave them alone to do as they want; just as long as it's not affecting you, it's none of your concern. I don't know it can avoid affecting me. We are all inter-related to our community and nobody but nobody escapes its influences. (Didn't someone say that no man is an island?) If this were true then as long as we were allowed to live free, we'd allow others to live as slaves, if they wished. Do we have this much faith that people understand what they want and how to get it? Some of us have. How can this be said by people who believe that they've developed a fair analysis of the state while others have yet to realise it (which they're all very capable of doing). As Bob Black once wrote me, (more or less), the concept of the Anarcholeptic Alarm Clock is somewhat flawed; we are not the people who awaken those potential anarchists (everyone) who are still sleeping. Others believe that there must be evolution, not revolution, because revolution involves the enforcement of some ideal. What tactic do we use: propagandise by words, propagandise by actions, or refuse to propagandise? By refusing to propagandise, are we allowing the system to perpetuate and strengthen itself, thus acknowledging that all born into it are being brought into a world which will exercise all its influence on them? Is it us or them? Can propaganda be justified as a reaction to a propagandised world? Or is the worst thing about propaganda that it is usually monopolised by those in power?

In examining propaganda, we must look at its purpose. Does it propose to liberate or enslave? Take up your side and take a position. If we believe that anarchy will be more harmonious than fascism, argue it. Use logic, examples, reason, intelligence. And recognise others' propaganda in whatever form it may take; harassment or constantly imposing their system on you is a well concealed, but very dangerous form of propaganda as well.

Sometimes people feel it's alright to churn out propaganda dealing with certain issues and not others. Economic oppression seems to reign, social oppression is seen as trivial and unsubstantial. We can see this stem from Marxist theory. Maybe it's because few of us have the capacity or will to become an economic oppressor; we all serve the cause of social oppression. A musician once wrote about anarchists: "Destroy they say, defy, condemn, as long as you don't destroy them." J'accuse, j'accuse.

I believe in my judgment (at least until something makes more sense). I write propaganda. It's obvious

Continued on page 39

Letters



We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to continue this dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters to **Anarchy** will be printed with the author's intials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper--as in the case of an author of an article printed in **Anarchy**.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. Please limit length to four double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to **Anarchy**, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you all!

Scary rag

Hi,

Please send back issues #20/21, 19, 18, 17.

What a great, scary rag you produce. I estimate 40% probability you are C.I.A. or F.B.I.

But it's too late. Please sign me up for one year. Please send your "Common perspectives."

M.H., Flora, IL.

Ps. Opening an envelope and pulling out a big magazine named "**Anarchy**" is one of the biggest thrills I've ever had. In 30 yrs.

Non-capitalist cultures

Dear **Anarchy**!

Thanks a lot for your quick response in sending me the magazine; I do like it a lot—I find it very inspiring and challenging. Besides the wish and striving for a joyful world to live in, **Anarchy**! provides a strong intellectual stimulation—it's fun and exciting.

I'm very interested in knowing more about non-Western and non-capitalist cultures, not because I think that every non-capitalist society is "better off" than the society we are living in now, but because I want to understand how other forms of oppression function and how the people of those societies dealt with or/and against their power structures. It is somewhat difficult to explore this subject through the available anthropological accounts, seeing the widespread ethnocentric bias (with its hiericentric, hierarchical + centric,...facets) in the anthropological academic world. Moreover anthropologists arrived in "remote" places around the world only after colonial conquerors had already settled there and influenced/destroyed the original cultures. Those attempts (especially done by feminist anthropologists) to depict "egalitarian" societies untouched by capitalism, had often been undertaken too enthusiastically and ended up inaccurate reports of wonderful "egalitarian" societies which actually never existed.

But my interest is not directed towards any particular tribe, society or culture. Rather I would like to know of any report of "anarchist" or "libertarian"-like thought in non-capitalist cultures. Or is the libertarian striving merely a "(by-) product" of capitalism? And if so, what are the implications of this? The anarchist critique is of a very broad angle: it criticizes any kind of authority and oppression. I think that non-Western "libertarian" thoughts could produce useful contributions to such a critique.

I just wanted to ask **Anarchy**! writers and readers who have any knowledge or suggestions about this subject to maybe write about it. I would be really interested.

Best wishes,

S.Z., San Francisco, CA.

Free market capitalism

Dear T.P. and Lev,

At the risk of being dismissed and condemned as simply another lunatic right-wing anarchist (by left-wing ideologues), I wish to challenge the exchange between the two of you in the Aug.-Oct. **Anarchy** *[see "True capitalism," page 43]*.

T.P. misconstrues the terms microeconomics and macroeconomics. He discusses individual activities in the market—saving, production and exchange—and calls them microeconomic activities. T.P. says these microeconomic activities are good, but that it is "macroeconomic" activities which anarchists should oppose. Curiously, he doesn't present any examples of macroeconomic activities. For good reason, I suggest. There are none. Any action taken in the market would be a "microeconomic" activity.

T.P.'s confusion lies in his peculiar interpretation of these words. Normally economics refers to the study or analysis of the market (i.e. of the economy). Microeconomics is the study of parts of the market and macroeconomics is the study of the market as a whole. Austrianism, monetarism and Keynesianism are merely means of analysis. None of them presuppose a nation-state as such. Any of these three methods of analysis could be applied to an economy within an anarchist society.

Lev responds that anarchists should oppose capitalism because "of the great network of connotations, implications, and assumptions that are associated with its common everyday and technical usages," (whatever the Hell **that** is supposed to mean!). It would be nice if Lev could come up with something concrete to choose as his enemy.

After meandering about the "social effects" of the use of certain words and ideas, Lev accuses the Libertarian Party and "right-wing" anarchists of beginning their analyses from economic categories. Writes Lev, "Analyses which begin from economic categories always relegate our lived human concerns to an inconsequential periphery. It is self-defeating to conceive of all life in economic terms if our real goal is to live more fully and freely. At bottom desire, need, creation, expression, and inventiveness (among many others) are not economic categories. Unless the 'economic' is clearly and genuinely subordinated to the more generally 'human'...we will remain at the mercy of alienating institutions and ideological thinking."

Apparently Lev's whole opposition to the free market economy is based on this straw man. Free market anarchists, Libertarian Party members and Austrian economists do not begin their analyses from economic categories. Nor do we conceive of all life in economic terms. We agree with Lev that desire, need, creation, expression, inventiveness and so forth are not economic categories (they are psychologicalcategories). Economics is by definition subordinated to "the more genuinely 'human'," as it refers merely to finding the means to satisfy the **a priori** desires of humans.

I'm sorry, Lev, that you are at the mercy of alienating institutions and ideological thinking. Let me know if there is anything I can do to help you out of this condition.

In Anarchy,
Terry Inman
Editor, **Youth Connection**
600 DeKalb Street, #G10
Auburn, AL. 36830

Lev responds:

Try reading what I've written!

Your sarcastic response to my reply to T.P. in **Anarchy** #20 /21 might carry a bit more weight if you had actually read my reply carefully enough to understand the context of my comments. Nowhere did I say that my "whole opposition to the free market economy" was based on anything in those remarks. Your imaginative interpretation of my remarks does at least prove that right-wing "anarchists" can be to some degree creative, if not very logical!

As anyone who reads the original exchange between T.P. and myself will readily realize, T.P. was defending, under the name of "microeconomics," individualist market transactions. He opposed these to "macroeconomics," which he obviously intended to include all the authoritarian institutional props which ensure that the market works smoothly in keeping the rich and powerful classes rich and powerful, e.g. the Federal Reserve, the current banking system, multinational corporations, government-sanctionedmonopolies, etc. Just because these terms are usually used to denote two different approaches to studying the workings of capitalism doesn't mean that they can't be validly used in the sense he desires, especially when he has made it clear what he means by them!

In response to T.P.'s comments, I argued that it made little sense to isolate the economic transactions between individuals (T.P.'s "microeconomics") from the overall "macroeconomic" context in order to call it "true capitalism." While such a clean divorce is possible in theory, in actual practice it could only be a mess, leading to more mystification and confusion than it would ever be worth.

For some reason (an ideological commitment to the defense of capitalism at all costs, perhaps?), you have taken my remarks addressed to this special case argued by T.P. and interpreted them as a critique of capitalism per se. However this was obviously far from my purpose.

And further, your denial of my "accusation" that the misnamed "Libertarian" Party and right-wing "anarchists" always seem to begin their analyses from economic categories flies in the face of my experience. If you can show me a single piece of their literature that doesn't implicitly or explicitly assume from the start that human beings were made in the image of capitalism and that capitalism isn't the final answer to our ("a priori"!) desires, I'll be willing to reconsider. However, I have a feeling I'd have to wait a long, long time for that kind of hard evidence!

Black Banner Brigade

Anarchy,

Howdy, wanted to make a couple comments about the mention of an "Austin Anarchist League" in our fair city.... There really is no such thing, as far as I know. The guy who "started it" called a meeting last fall and then copped out at the last second and instructed all of his cohorts not to show up. Basically, this guy must have felt that any meeting without his presence was invalid or something. Golly.... Anyway, there is a small but dedicated li'l group of anarchs here that has come out of the ashes of other groups. We're planning big happenings at the I.M.F. Conference (July 9-11) this summer in Houston and we want out of town folks to come and join us. We can provide housing and some transportation between Austin and Houston. There will be a KKK rally (July 7) a couple days before the I.M.F. activity gets underway and we're gonna have fun with that too.... Our goal is to set up a Contingent of Anarchists so we don't become co-opted by Stalinists or (gulp) liberals. Could y'all please provide our address to your readers? We'll be sending out a newsletter soon.

Thank ya,
Black Banner Brigade
POB 7962
Austin, TX. 78713-7962

Exchange my address

Hello!

I want to thank you for the subscription to **Anarchy**. I wish to continue receiving your publication, as long as ZOG allows me to....

I am very much interested in other publications also so feel free to exchange my address with others. If possible I'd like my address printed in an upcoming issue.

Aaron D. Davis #163027
Box 7, 1C-215
Moberly, MO. 65270

Ps. Keep up the good work!!!

No bullshit

Dear **Anarchy**,

I trust that this letter will find all of you in good health and high spirits. I am writing to thank you for making me a subscriber to your collective publishing effort, i.e. **Anarchy**, which is consistently first-rate, very interesting, not 'bout no bullshit! I have turned a few of my brothers on to your magazine/journal, and they all agree with me as to the quality of reportage and hard-hitting exposés that is the forte of **Anarchy**. I have a problem with being (probably) the only black man in this institution (state?!) who has dedicated himself to the libertarian (in the **true** sense of that word) project of realizing his desire by studying, and by trying to further the critique of civilization expounded by anarcho/libertarian thinkers and activists. I do hope to affect some changes in this discouraging situation as my life goes on. It gets lonely sometimes, y'know. I am penniless at the moment...but I have managed to "bum" 3 twenty-five cent stamps, which I hope will cover some of the postage for a copy of **Demolition Derby** #1. It sounds as if it contains some good pieces, so please send me a copy..I am especially interested in reading the essay on "Questioning Ecology," as I have a very good friend who writes and visits me on occasion, and who is an anarchist and also a member of the "Green movement."....

Love,
G.D., Angie, LA.

The masses are blind

Lev,

How goes it by you these days?....

I received #22/Nov.-Dec.'89 issue without a hitch—thank you much. In particular I found the article entitled "The Sad Truth; The cocaine con-game" as being so very true to the matter. Personally, my amazement concerning this whole matter comes from the simple fact that the masses of society are blind to the truth of it all. I mean I'm far from being any Einstein type of being, yet long ago I saw through their sleight of hand tricks and games as a whole.

It's almost like this planet's power elite has somehow managed through genes via evolution, to have the masses walking around and existing as a whole, willingly adorning themselves with blinders. Unfortunately, it's also not hard to see a time in the future whereas all "bad machines" such as myself will be deemed to be criminals and thus incarcerated for their entire natural lives. I mean personally speaking, I'm already there in full realization of such. They changed the laws to suit their own needs in my case.

For the moment they are doing only "piecemeal" type things. But unless something drastic happens and the masses are awakened from their sleep walk type of existence, such incarcerations will become not only widespread, but also well accepted.

And, as if this is not bad enough already, I've now also come to a time in my life whereas I realize they not only have me incarcerated illegally, but have now managed through their ways & means to alienate me from all but one of those I've come to realize as loved-ones. As though they dare not even chance the possibility of my contaminating any one of theirs, through words written.

I should be so good, you know what I mean?

Meanwhile, presently I can't help wondering what the chances would be of their being someone amongst your readers being interested in "connecting" with a 43 yrs. of age male Taurian "white bird"



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such as me, to share in life's experiences and wonderments. To find out the answer to such, I'd even be more than willing to allow you to put into print my name and mailing address. The sport that I am, you know what I mean?

Of certainty, I hope also that you have a good sense of humor, and will appreciate mine—let alone are able and willing to take a hint-hint.

On that note I'll take my leave from this paper for now. Keep up with the good work. Surely I'm far from alone being in appreciation of it, and the very spirit it is of and about.

Sincerely,
Joe Koza #17251
Box 1989
Ely, NV. 89301

Nonconformist

Dear Lev,

Just read a brief letter in **Fifth Estate** about you and your journal. I am a disabled educator (two masters—one in education and other in Soviet studies). A decade ago I led two major strikes in Ohio Chillicothe prison—now diabetes (100 units) etc. has slowed me down to skirmishes.

Just now I am in the hole at Lebanon for having pornography (Reich's *Psychology of Orgasm*) and fascist book (Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism*). Fascinating what the rednecks of razorwire land will react to. Freedom will not rear its ugly head till 5 May 2008, a Monday.

Would appreciate a copy of your journal and any correspondents who might be interested in an imprisoned nonconformist. Just now if they could enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope it would help. Though they took my disability pensions to pay for my incarceration, they only rebate $3.00 a month back.

Well, give them hell and confuse them a bunch.

Yours,
Robt. Kim Walton, M.Ed
Box 56-#175-999
Lebanon, OH. 45036

@ Clipping Service

Dear anarchists,

During the 1970s in both the U.S.A. and Europe the news media worked out a deal with the government on how news could be covered so as not to fan the flames of revolt and revolution. Essentially the scheme is that in each locality news of riots, strikes, eco-disasters, etc. is reported, because the local people are going to hear about it anyway. However, national and international news consists of the acts of presidents and bureaucrats, plus discontent among the enemy (communist) ranks. This gives the impression that all is quiet on our western front.

Our anarchist zines/newspapers don't have the staff to follow news nationally, nor can they usually even find out about it. We have developed informal networks to pass on news; at least we manage to report on our own political activity.

This is the beginning of the @ Clipping Service, and any group or individual in any locality can start one. I've made a list of the anarchist publications that report news and come out regularly. When I see something has happened here in San Diego/Tijuana, I clip it from the paper and make a short summary of it. I also may take things from various other sources, for instance, business and technical magazines. Every few weeks I'll do a mailing to all the zines on my list. Everyone can decide what they think is worth printing.

It's inexpensive and it could be quite effective if people can do similar projects in other localities.

For each summary I am including the original source; unattributed articles are based on private communications.

In solidarity,
B.M., San Diego, CA.

A stack of *Anarchy's*

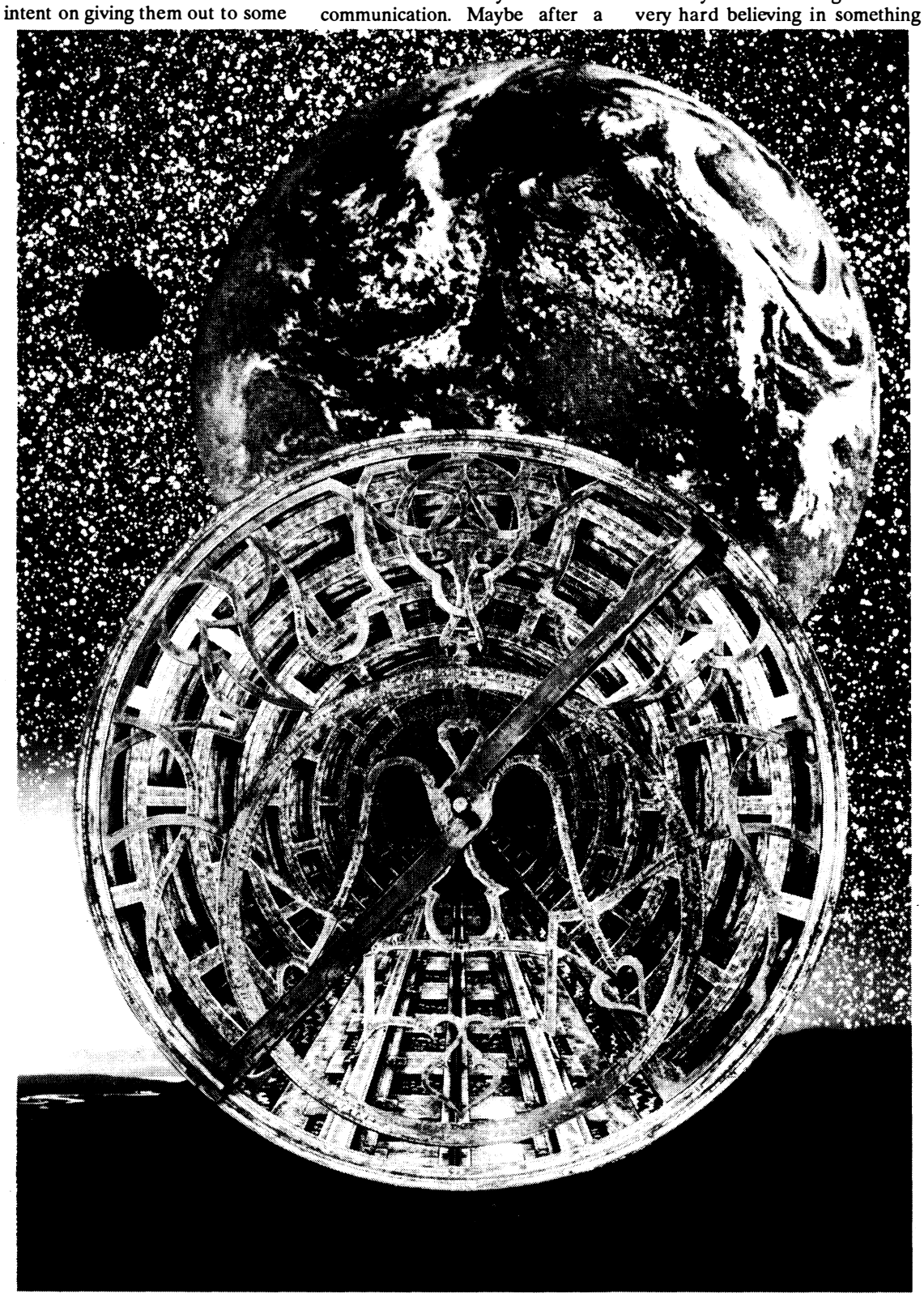
Lev,

I've got a question, is it possible I could get a stack of **Anarchy**'s, it doesn't matter which issue(s) or what amount, but I'll include a donation to cover the cost. I'm intent on giving them out to some people at no cost. I just want people to read your excellent journal. **Anarchy** really means alot to me, I enjoy the challenging thought and discussion. I think of myself, generally, as open-minded and willing to discuss anything & learn & explore, it's vital to me. All this stirs me & I need to communicate this whether people I talk to understand me or not. If I don't pass on what I know, what good is it to communicate? I have a zine, and I use bits of yours, hope you don't mind.

Thanks for listening. Bux enclosed for whatever you wish to send, and look out in the future for a few more bux just to help out. I hate money, might as well put it some place important.

G.Y., Malvern, PA.

Ps. Something else crossed my mind. The rich & the nearly rich & the wanna-bes and the very trained are not going to all throw out their possessions & money & their ways & all gain the desire to be anarchist overnight in the lump sum. Correct? It's more a matter of individual discovery & action & communication. Maybe after a long time, many people will choose to be anti-authoritarian, open-minded, non-role-playing, etc. type persons, but even for those people like you & your closest friends & a person like me, who all may see things similarly & have many of the same deep personal desires & convictions, we still must find a way to get thru every frustrating day. I know how I wish the world was, no bosses at all, all freedoms, respect for all people, no war machines, no money loving and so on, but I do see the reality that this stuff may never change on a large scale for many many years, as I referred to earlier. So I must have a job to make a few bucks, so I eat & have a place to live. It is the first job I ever had where the people who ran it left me really totally on my own, seldom showing "authority." I know work is alienation & work sux, but in reality we all need a little money, it's a matter of personal attitude how we use it. You need money too, and I also give money to you, and gladly, because I respect the publication & I want it to stay alive for a long time. It's very hard believing in something so much, and living life in a manner different than the usual capitalist ways, and still having to live in the world as it actually is. If only people weren't scared to think on their own.



Collage by Johann Humyn Being (San Francisco, CA.).

Anarchy not suited

Dear friends,

Thank you for allowing us to review your title(s).

After careful consideration, we have decided that your material is not suited to our market.

Thank you for your interest in Bookpeople.

Best regards,
Small Press Department,
Bookpeople,
2929 Fifth Street,
Berkeley, CA. 94710

Now I smile

Yo Ho,

Please, I desire a subscription. Will you also enclose a copy of **As we see it!** so that my view of "it" may be compared with your "it." I'm sure some of your pleasures go unrealized as you may make sacrifices to publish this journal. I hope some desires are fulfilled by knowing your work and commitment through **Anarchy** inspires creativity and reduces brain/mind rot.

I abandoned moral guidance
now I smile
I browse my impulses
Desire quivers
If accused of pain's infliction
ponder I will
But have you injured yourself?

...Please send subscription and **As we see it!** to:

R.G., Skilman, N.J.

Phoney prisoners group?

Lev,

I received issue #23 of **Anarchy** last night in the mail.

I enjoy reading it very much as do many other inmates at this institution. It's thought provoking, and gives us much to think about and discuss.

Anarchy is the best I have read.

Lev, I do not normally write letters to the editor, or even to Anarchist groups, as my mail is monitored, which limits very much what I can say, and what a correspondent could safely say, without fear of being hit with a bullshit conspiracy charge. But while reading through **Anarchy** I run across a listing for a group called the "Prisoners Anarchy Network At Large," which consists of one Michael J. Stotts.

This guy, known as "Fats" when at this institution, is an informer. He gave up several friends and associates, and even got their wives busted. He has been known to do this at other federal prisons also.

He is a **phoney**, and anything he is involved in is a scam of some kind. Hell, when he was here, he advertised in many Gay publications, hustling money to pay for his drugs, and when he got caught with drugs, he gave up his friends and their wives.

Now it seems he has become an anarchist, and has some kind of phoney prisoners group. Well, I'm

Continued on next page

Letters



Phoney prisoners group?

Continued from previous page

giving fair warning to everyone who has written to him or has considered it. **Don't do it!** Your name will be on the F.B.I.'s list for sure. "Fats" is only into drugs, and as has been shown in the past, he will make a deal with the feds, quick!

I know you don't investigate the groups, or so called groups you list in your paper, but I do think you owe it to your readers to warn them that contacting a certain group, listed in your publication, could place them in needless jeopardy.

I sincerely believe you should print this letter, or the information it contains, as it could prevent some one being ripped off, or worse, set up for a conspiracy charge.

Sincerely,
M.D., Memphis, TN.

A rat, an informer

Dear Sisters and Brothers at **Anarchy**,

First I would like to thank you all at **Anarchy** for providing such a fine publication, free of charge, to prisoners. It is like an island in a sea of despair for people with alternative lifestyles.

I am writing this to warn you, and your readers, of a man in the **Anarchy** contact network. His name is Michael J. Stotts, also known as "Fats." This man has been working with our government. Against those of us who believe in alternative lifestyles. To put it bluntly, he is a "rat," an informer. He helped set-up and convict a friend of mine and his wife for possession of marijuana. They both received prison sentences. He has been in protective custody in every prison I've known him to enter, after setting-up people for drug busts. In short, he is a piece of shit. Many convicts know how dangerous he is to their lifestyles.

Rafael Falcon #38358-080
POB 34550-T
Memphis, TN. 38184-0550

[Note: As is made clear in our "Anarchy contacts" listing, we do not endorse (or for that matter "investigate") any person or group listed. At the same time we don't want to make a practice of listing addresses of anyone known or suspected of being insincere, so we are—at least temporarily—deleting the address of P.A.N.A.L. We believe that such accusations as those made above are quite serious and not to be treated lightly. At the same time we have no more knowledge of any of the parties involved than their respective letters to us, which cannot tell us in themselves who is telling the truth and who is lying. Therefore, we would like to solicit any comments our readers might have regarding Michael J. Stotts and P.A.N.A.L., if anyone else has written to this man or had any dealings with him positive or negative.-Lev]

Vital link

The simple opportunity to read a book or write a letter supplies a vital link between prisoners and the outside world and nourishes the prisoner's mind despite the bleakness of the environment....

Texas prisoners are not being allowed the opportunity to receive political literature. We are denied publications mailed from legitimate publishers because this system says these publishers are an unauthorized source.

In one instance of arbitrary application of the "publishers only" rule, the Director's Review Committee denied an anarchist publication as coming from an unauthorized source, even though six other publications had been approved from the same publisher 28 days earlier.

As oppressed people of this world we must stand strong against prison bureaucracies and those who hold power in this capitalist system. Please lend us your support and write to the D.R.C. requesting it to stop arbitrary and unlawful application of the "publishers only" rule. Strength through unity.

Write to Director's Review Committee, POB 99, Huntsville, TX. 77340.

M.K., Amarillo, TX.

"Civil rights of prisoners"

Section 2601. Retention of rights

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, each person described in Section 2600 shall have the following civil rights:

...(c) To purchase, receive, read, and permit other inmates to read any and all legal materials, newspapers, periodicals, and books accepted for distribution by the United States Post Office, except those which describe the making of any weapon, explosive, poison, or destructive device, or which in the judgment of the Director of Corrections, in the director's sole discretion, depicts, portrays, or describes a sexual assault upon a correctional employee. Nothing in this section shall be construed as limiting the right of prison authorities (1) to open and inspect any and all packages received by an inmate and (2) to establish reasonable restrictions as to the number of newspapers, magazines, and books that the inmate may have in his or her cell or elsewhere in the prison at one time.

*(From the **U.S. Penal Code** (1990), Chapter 3.)*

Law'n'order über alles

The Publications Review Committee has reviewed the publication **Anarchy**, Number 22/Nov.-Dec. '89, and deny its admission to the unit because it advocates anarchy, contains many anti-law and order articles, encourages riots and other actions of rebellion of *[sic]* established authority. The article on page 30 advocates stealing whatever you want wherever you see it.

This publication would endanger the good order and security of the unit.

William M. Stricklin
Administrator,
Chaplaincy Services
Arkansas Dept. of Correction
POB 8707
Pine Bluff, AR. 71611

[Freedom is always "against the law," and nowhere moreso than in prisons where the tyrannical essence of authority is exhibited—arbitrary control over the lives of those held prisoner by those who hold power in this society.—Lev]

Still more letters on
Love and Rage

Have respect for each other

Dear Lev,

K.P.'s letter on the Anarchist newspaper project conference (in Jan./Feb. 1990 issue) "An Open Letter to the Anarchist Movement" was incorrect in many ways.

The most exciting part of the conference was the 11 hour discussion on the political statement. There was not one time I can remember that any group of people voted as a bloc on any issue of disagreement. It took 11 hours because most of us thought it was important to define the parameters of the paper, as well as seeing where folks you didn't know were coming from. To think that such a discussion should take an hour means that you don't think political principles are important.

It is also amazing to me that K.P. didn't notice that over 50% of the conference was women, and that 90% of the facilitation was by women. (Some from Atlanta, Knoxville, and the Bay Area that K.P. didn't notice were there at all!) If K.P. had stuck around he would have seen that 50% of the elected editorial council was women.

K.P. in his letter puts down fighting with the police, equates oppression of left-handed people with that of the oppression of African-Americans, and generally omits any reference to women at the conference at all. Anarchists should also ask K.P. how the hell any kind of revolution is possible without the active participation of young people, which the conference had plenty of and that K.P. neglects to mention. If I didn't know better I would think he attended a different conference.

To me Anarchism means freedom, solidarity and mutual aid and support. I am angered by K.P.'s tone. Our movement should encourage many different newspapers, projects, and bookstores, from various points of view. While we all may not agree on the politics and have disagreements on where to focus activity we can at least have respect for each other. In this K.P. fails also.

Don't take my word for it, send for a copy of *Love and Rage*, POB 3, Prince Station, New York, NY. 10012.

In love and rage,
Roni, Detroit, MI.

Ps. Beth, George and Fred's letter was as disrespectful and deceitful as Fred's disrupting tactics at the conference itself. Nothing further needs to be said.

Conceived in secret

Fellow Workers,

While this is perhaps no more likely to see print than my earlier letters to your journal (I am presently 0 for 3 *[Note: I'm sorry if we lost three of them, but we do try to print all coherent letters we receive. Are you sure you didn't just miss them?-Lev]*), I must nevertheless protest "Chris Gunderday's" misrepresentations in your March-April edition. (By the way, this man of so many names publicly admitted, at the Newspaper Conference, to being the author of the "Ned Day" materials.)

There are many factual errors in Gunderday's letter, ranging from the claim that Atlanta was represented solely by women (and that there are no prominent women in the Hayday un-anarchist group—a "fact" he invents to try to tar Fred, Beth and George as sexists) to the lie that those of us who didn't swallow the party line were "self-described obstructionists." Gunderday contends that I "did not, for reasons I (Gunderday) will not pretend to fathom, sign up on the mailing list" at the San Francisco gathering's newspaper workshop to receive information about the newspaper project. I explained at the Chicago conference, however, that I did not sign the mailing list for the simple reason that I never saw one or knew of its existence. (Other comrades I know who attended that workshop were similarly unaware of this mailing list.)

As for whether Gunderday's selection as editor was predetermined, suffice it so say that from the moment the Chicago meeting began everyone referred to him that way—as did a sign on the wall. Gunderday's claim that he was not co-facilitator is similarly disingenuous. Almost without exception, when questions or difficulties arose the nominal facilitators turned to him or Billy Falk.

Space precludes refuting all of Gunderday's lies. The documentary record of Hayday's support for the FMLN is clear. Similarly, my "relatively brief appearance at the conference" lasted nearly ten hours. Had Resurgence or Some Chicago Anarchists intended to disrupt the affair we could have done so. Instead we mostly listened, speaking occasionally when we were recognized (and jumping in once or twice when blatant lies were being told) by the chair.

Gunderday imagines that anyone who does not support his authoritarian project is a disruptionist. But I have been involved in the Anarchist movement for nearly a dozen years, contributing of my time, funds and energies to many anarchist journals including for the last effort at building a broad movement paper—the bi-monthly/monthly **Strike!** from 1982-86. I have a long-standing commitment to building the **anarchist** press. It was for this reason (and out of the hope that, despite appearances, anarchists would run the affair) that I was persuaded to attend the Newspaper conference. **Love and Rage** was conceived in secret. Only a select handful saw its discussion bulletin or were invited to the founding conference. Conference attendees who disagreed with the party line were not provided with Conference documents or follow-up mailings. Many comrades who had intended to support the paper have since quit in disgust. Those who have seen **Love and Rage** can judge for themselves whether or not it's a warmed over version of the (ex-Trotskyite) RSL's **Torch**. (Actually, I found the **Torch** more interesting, and no less anarchist.) I, for one, am still looking for some evidence of an anarchist vision in its pages.

Jon Bekken, Champaign, IL.

Incoherent amalgam

Dear **Anarchy**,

Having read the responses to my account of the **Love and Rage** newspaper conference, I feel compelled to make a few additional comments.

I oppose **Love and Rage** not because I seek to disrupt anarchist unity but because I want to see the emergence of a credible, coherent and ultimately successful anarchist movement. For this to occur, we need to present ourselves as responsible people with clear, positive goals. We must demonstrate that anarchism is relevant to most people and is a desirable, necessary alternative to the current statist-capitalist system.

Love and Rage is a shining example of the incoherent amalgam of left-liberal populism and nihilist lifestylism which comprises a good deal of the anarchist movement at this point. To prove this, one only needs to take a look at the statement of principles. So **Love and Rage** opposes racism, sexism and homophobia. Big deal. So does much of the Democratic Party. How a lengthy manifesto which only devotes four sentences to class struggle and opposition to the state can be considered "anarchist" is certainly beyond me. Nor is there any mention of issues not usually of interest to leftists and liberals such as opposition to taxes, censorship, state-controlled police, courts and education, electoral politics, anti-drug laws and tons of other important topics. Nor is there any mention, not even a hint, of what a truly free, anarchist society might look like.

To say that **Love and Rage** is not a continuation of the R.S.L. *[Revolutionary Socialist League]* is absurd. Check out this scenario: the central committee of a vanguardist sect votes to disband their organization and work on the creation of an anarchist newspaper. They recruit a couple of like-minded groups and hold an esoteric conference in order to launch their new publication. A classic Trot move if ever there was one.

When Fred Majer stated at the conference that he represented the anarchist movement, his point was that support for the newspaper project enjoyed little, if any, support outside of the three or four



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groups involved and that most elements within the movement oppose the creation of a continental paper at this time.

Hopefully, anarchism will indeed be "the most significant revolutionary tendency of the '90s and beyond." But it certainly won't be because of Trotskyite hodge-podge like **Love and Rage**.

For anarchism,
Keith Preston, Richmond, VA.

Disruption, not discussion

The petty & extremely limited "discussion" over the monthly anarchist paper **Love & Rage** has reached a point where we feel compelled to react & express our position.

If the goal of those opposed to this project is to isolate & nullify the paper, **before it has even been published**, then the complacency of the anarchist movement seems to show that this goal has been reached. Against this, we'd like to state our solidarity & support for this paper here & now. The levels of absurdity reached in the form of accusations, assumptions & value-judgements reflects perfectly the shallowness of the N. American anarchist movement in general. We have never been ones to refrain from criticizing problems within the movement, & it is clear that there are distinctions & differences which run so deep as to create diverging tendencies. In this way, we position ourselves clearly with those who have undertaken to produce a paper that is explicitly revolutionary, against capital & the state, against imperialism, against sexism, racism & homophobia, & which concretely contributes to the development of an insurrectional movement & consciousness.

The question of the organization of the paper could have been a starting point for a discussion which presented, in a practical way, questions about anarchist organization & structure, specifically around propaganda. But the path it has taken, using slander, accusation & pettiness, clearly shows it is not discussion that is sought, but rather disruption.

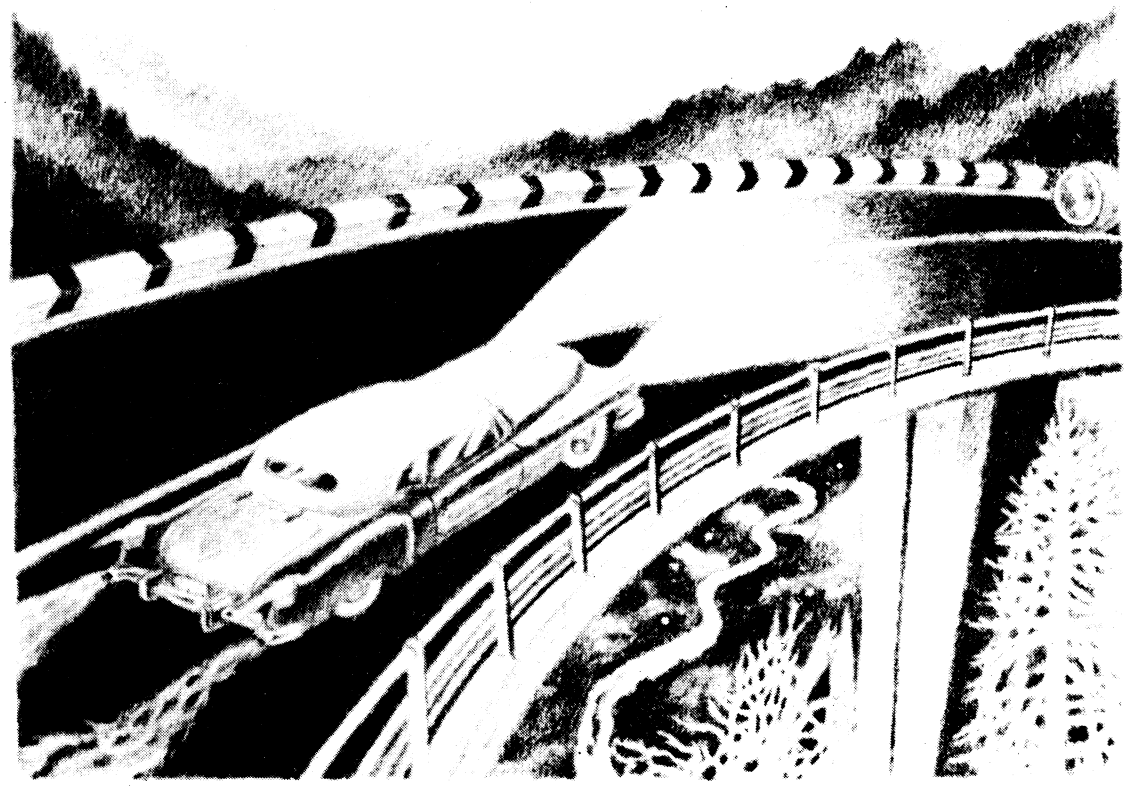
A main ingredient in the "organizational" problem appears to be that the initiators of this project attempted to build a strong level of support for the paper before it was published, & in this way brought in a diverse group of people who lacked any basis in unity, & who would be antagonistic.

Besides sending a verbal expression of our solidarity, we also send a practical one, a monetary donation, & urge others to do likewise.

¡Venceremos!
Comrades at **Endless Struggle**
POB 69601 Stn.K
Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W7
Canada

Vanguard politics

Vanguard politics is characterized by small elites who set out to implement change consistent with their ideology. Since they are not part (or wish to separate themselves from) already existing political cadres, they must build their opposition through recruiting other people to act as their mass legitimization. Change, rather than being effected by the example of collective action and collaboration on projects consistent with the ideology, rather is sought through building sympathetic numbers; change can then be demanded on the pretext of carrying out the will of the majority. (Some argue the **Love & Rage** people are not busy creating local revolutionary projects, but rather are in the business of propagandizing and organizing. They are professional conference goers and vanguardist propagandists.)



Untitled. *Reprinted from* ***Hotcha!*** *#67/68 (Urban Gwerder, CH-7243, Switzerland).*

The critique I have of political organization such as that practiced by **L&R** (although what they may **espouse** may be totally different) stems from a disagreement over what it takes to move towards a loose consensus of ideas in society. (By the term "in society" is meant "in any social grouping, particularly as the numbers grow and the chances for disagreement or contradiction grow exponentially.) Gaining considerable support through sloganeering and addressing the concerns of many people has never proven to transform society. The supporters often are not committed to working on the same political agenda as the revolutionary elite. Although these groups may desire similar ends, the transition from desire to reality takes a lot of preparation, more so as the numbers involved increase. Few people are able to make their way into the ideological elite which remains exactly that: an ideological elite.

Gunderson himself acts consistently in line with the idea of an ideological elite. How else could someone justify issuing a statement of principles for an entire group when only about 10% was there? "We're really the activists, anyway," he said. Well, I don't disagree that the conference hoppers and networking maniacs have become the nucleus of the anarchist movement. There then remains the "less active" (in terms of movement-politico activity) anarchist types and the sympathetic supporters and other hangers-on that you will find at any event. We all know that 500 people can be mobilized at a street demonstration in NY, but does that mean that you have 500 people who have developed anarchic ideas & practices, or that are willing to take them on over a long term period? It is exactly this rank-n-file marginal section that is in debate. It is usually **them** that the anarchists speak to, not usually to the public at large. They are, in large part, the focus of these propaganda/organizing attempts. Until they go about organizing themselves, they will remain the pool of half-assed supporters & affiliators that drop in and out of the "anarchist movement" every couple of years.

And just who's defined this "anarchist movement"? Why was I told recently that a group I identify with is not part of the "anarchist movement"? (Not that I want to necessarily be considered part of it). Basically since none of us go to the "movement" meetings or conferences (and if we do, as individuals, not as reps of the collective), nor do we attempt to network with those who do, we are not considered part, regardless of our independent activity. The effect has been that we have been either 1) labeled as "not a **real** group" or 2) put on networking lists that we never wanted to be on, despite explicit statements made by individuals in the group. So what's the place of thousands of anarchic rebels out there, the ones w/o political pretensions, the ones that don't even have the foggiest idea that this discussion is even going on anywhere in the world?

One is either forcibly included into the fold of the movement or else excluded; recent nonsense of the sort has included "including" various well known figures, who have never claimed to be anarchists, and denying any association with various people who always were. (In other words, the "X was really an anarchist but didn't know it and Y calls Y-self an anarchist but really isn't" syndrome.)

On another note—am I the only one who is bothered by the liberal academy language of the **L&R** statement & letters? It often sounds like that liberal quota claptrap. I couldn't give a shit whether the magazine were run by fat lesbian black hispanics in wheelchairs—it's still the same shit. The very fact that these folks would try to vindicate themselves and their political organization by pointing out the presence of women in it is just part and parcel of the neoliberal mentality that has invaded the left. (Yes, I have deliberately included them in the left. What a smokescreen! So what if there's a majority of this and that—we still get overblown statements from what's-his-name.) There are now portions of the anarchist movement who accept, uncritically, people from various movements, particularly the feminist movement, into their fold. In effect, by not holding up the same critical standards to certain people as they would to heterosexual white men, they are maintaining part of the ideology of the status quo.

X, NYC, NY.

Open letter to *Love & Rage*

Greetings.

Having just read your most recent issue, and the previous ones, I have questions about your allegedly anti-authoritarian leftist paper.

Why don't you report on the long-standing projects of the dozens, if not hundreds, of struggling anarchist groups & individuals & publications in North America, or at least list addresses like so many zines do, instead of reporting your own organizing efforts and on national liberation struggles worldwide? We can get that from any leftist paper—often alongside listings of anarchists. Doesn't your practice tend to detract from the many diverse anarchist works everywhere?

Why criticize the **On Gogol Boulevard** insert, the most readable part of the paper, as self-indulgent, and then widely feature the activities of the **L&R** production group's action arm, the A.A.A.? Why repeat what successes A.A.A. has had and ignore their wide criticism by anarchists, those they've made appearances to support, the media, and even those who've joined their actions? Does your "Editorial Council" know about this?

Don't you folx get any mail? You hardly print any. The give-and-take between readers is the most vital part of a publication, especially an anarchist publication. Let's see it. Does your "Editorial Council" have any say in this?

Admitting to your macho/militant posturing seems like a baby step in the right direction away from self-interest and towards being a service to anti-authoritarians. Might we see an analysis of instances in which A.A.A. or production group members have discussed purging or "physically dealing with" fellow-anarchists for supposedly heretical personal activities? It would be nice to know what our anarchist leaders are planning in this regard, openly and up-front, before it occurs. A position paper, maybe. Does your "Editorial Council" know this goes on?

Type 3 Watsonian,
David Crowbar
Popular Reality
Pob 571
Greenwood Lake, NY. 10925

Unregistered

Dear **Anarchy**,

I've been so happy ever since anarchists discovered nature. I'm an anarchist and I live in a little cabin in the forest. Just me, the trees and wildlife living in harmony. I've written some poems about my experiences.

My Floor

That fucking fly
Buzzing in the beer can
Among the twelve

Or how about this one?

Mouse tracks in hard bacon
grease.
Flyspecks on the wall.
Beer cans getting dusty,
Sitting in the hall.

Actually, I don't have a hall, but I wanted it to rhyme. I don't even have electricity or plumbing, but it sure beats living in my pickup.

As an anarchist I like the following words: spectacle, megamachine, paradigm, situationist, critique, demo, monkeywrench (as a verb), autonomous, fetish, and of course, clitoris.

I like your magazine.

T. Raven, Marquette, MI.

Ps. If you want to print this letter you can use that name (T. Raven). It's unregistered.

Screw up?

Why did you have to use a photo of 3 white cops arresting 3 black men in the article "Contradictions of cocaine capitalism," published in number 23 of **Anarchy**? All this does is add to the media blitz that portrays blacks as drug dealers and criminals in general. This also shows whites as the heroes that save the nation from criminals.

Besides this screw up I think that **Anarchy** is an informative

Continued on next page

Letters

Screw up?

Continued from previous page

paper. It's refreshing to read articles that tell the truth unslanted by the regular media bullshit.

A.F., Richmond, VA.

[Note from Lev: It's always tricky deciding exactly how photos will be seen by readers. Personally, I thought it was more evident that the photo displayed the racist nature of the so-called "War on Drugs," which in actuality is just as much a war on the poor and minorities.]

No *Endless Struggle*

Dear Lev,

...Got #23 of yr. mag. from a friend awhile back, & wasn't as pleased w/it as I usually am. What's with the glowing review & the reprints of this magazine, **Endless Struggle**? Jesus Christ, the title alone is enough to make me sick. Bookchin & the Left Green thing don't seem to go anywhere near far enough in their critique of the dominant reality, either. I can get stuff like that in other places, but I look to **Anarchy** for better quality reading than that. The "Theses on play" was really cool, & I'm glad to see the *Revolution of Everyday Life* being reprinted. More that kind of stuff!

Keep up the good work,
A.C., Iowa City, IA.

My reality check

Dear people,

...I would like to be included in your **Anarchy** Contact Network.

And being in prison I know my attitude may be (probably is) different than the mainstream @ community(ies) in the not so arrested world, but my compliments to Mikell Zhan (re: p.3, Jan./Feb. 1990). And I hope the narrow minds don't try and censor y'all too hard. We as people tend to forget that the same thing that's discarded as refuse can be also composted fertile. Picture was real, person in picture was real, and she is done time with me as my reality check. Just think, it could have been **Playboy**, **Hustler**, **Penthouse**, Movie of the Week, Married with Children, **People**, etc., etc., etc. Those people with a balanced consciousness will agree with what I'm saying and all others will see as they choose.

I have an important point (I feel) to project. We who are incarcerated behind these walls tend to not have full reality checks. The base heads talk about how good it was and forget that it wasn't that good. Think about the pipes you scraped. Think about searching the floor for crumbs that aren't there. Think about the hungry kids crying while you weren't in condition to feel hunger.

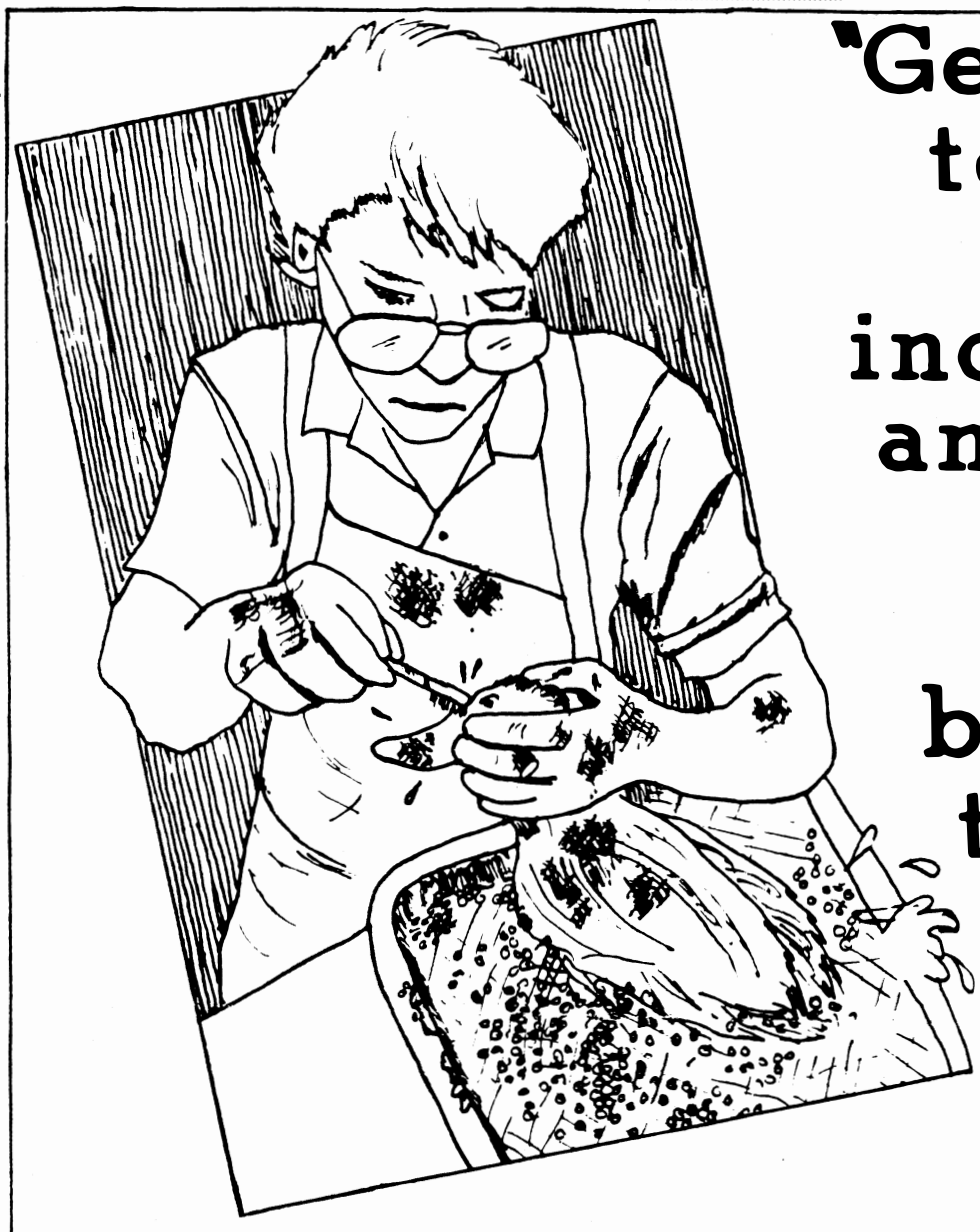
You so-called ballers or high-rollers consider this, when were your high days? The 30th of the month thru to about the 4th? Then again the 15th and 16th? Consider what that money came from and where it was supposed to have gone. Do you wonder about the homeless rate and the substance abuse rates jump in accord with one another. Ever think of the toss-ups you've had? (Toss-up is woman [or man] who exchanges sexual activity for substances, cocaine, heroin, crank, alcohol, etc.) My mother is a base-head, both my sisters are base-heads, 2 of my aunts are base-heads. And we aren't gonna even count my blood-relations (cousins), in-laws, family associates, etc. Point being, my family involvement in substance abuse isn't unique by any long shot and neither is yours (possibly). Just like all the women in my family could be subjected to the "base syndrome" so could yours. If you don't intend to be part of the solution at least don't be the problem. The enemy is anyone who is destructive to the well-being of the community. And all those that tend the fields and the gardens know that when the weeds are harming the crops...you destroy/eradicate the weeds.

I also realize that "By any means necessary" is a strong mode of revolutionary ideology, I also realize that Bread and Bullets is a sound doctrine that fosters sacrifice of a few for the good of many. But the Army nor the Family is holding true to original doctrine, we all must unite in common cause with action (individual or group) to pull the oppressor(s) foot/feet off our necks. All of those who have stood for right but since have visited the mire pool... stand up! Stop the abuse of our women. Stop the abuse of our children, and most importantly, stop the abuse of our selves! If your family is the oppressor, Reality Check! If your friend/comrade is the oppressor, Reality Check! If you are the oppressor, Reality Check!

@,
Rasheem Y. R'Hm
s/n Ras. Bernard Wood
D-32363-M2B10L
POB 409000
Ione, CA. 95640-9000

Ps. I am an **active** prison networker (political+). Could you list my desire to be added to the mailing list of any @ org./paper/newsletter, etc.

*[The **Anarchy** contact network listing was started in order to encourage "the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency." Unfortunately, we have been getting requests to be listed from many people who seem to have little or no idea what this means, or else don't seem to care what it means. Beginning now we will no longer just list groups or individuals on request with no questions asked. We will list only those who wish to be listed for reasons consistent with the stated purpose. This means that those interested need to write to us explaining where you stand and why you wish to be listed before you will be added to the list. "Good intentions" are simply not enough.-**Lev**]*



"Gee, I'd love to help you smash industrialism and create a global paradise, but I've got to go clean oily birds!"

Almost daily, we're treated to another horrendous spectacle of this society's headlong rush into oblivion.

And now, the recent oil spill on Washington's coast has provided a chance for hundreds of activists to wallow in industrial filth. The sincerity of the volunteers cannot be denied. Activities such as the sea-bird rescue provide an outlet for the genuine concern and sympathy for the victims of a world gone insane.

Yet, for all the effort, few birds will survive and very few of those will live to reproduce. And this is not even to mention the massive effects on all other marine and shore life.

If, then, oil spill damage is irreversible, all the activity and publicity of the clean-up only reinforces the industrialists' lie that all problems can be solved with better clean-up methods, stricter regulations and improved technology. It validates continued pillage of the biosphere in the name of Progress, and it excuses the inexcusable.

If we look at society as a whole, we see that the tragedies of our time are not "accidents" but consequences of industrial civilization itself. And, sooner or later, we are all victims.

When you've wiped the last glob of oil from your tired hands will you then go off to beg politicians for more regulations and write letters to the oil company president?

Or will you crave a world bountiful with life, where free human communities hold huge festivals on the overgrown ruins of razed factories and cities? Remember, you can't create untill you can dream.

DARE
TO DREAM
TO BE UNREASONABLE
TO DEMAND THE "IMPOSSIBLE"

Poster by M.J.



Letters

Adopt-a-wretch

Anarchy,

What's up? Me, only prison. I think my sub is supposed to run out on #23 so please put me on the adopt-a-wretch plan, now that king george has said this is a kinder and gentler nation. To be honest with you individuals, I only wish I could talk the bullshit you write. Why you ask, is it bullshit? How you ask me, this I know, because my teacher told me so! Hee Ha Hee. No, all kidding to the back or the side or wherever it's supposed to go, your excerpt of Raoul Vaneigem is enlightening. At first I couldn't grasp the concept, but one day as my mind was sitting around twiddling its thumbs, I understood. I had begun to read about the situationists back in about May of '89 but I lost the book so my grasp on situationists is tentative at best. Their movement evidently made a big impact on many people, even I have begun to create situations for not living the spectacle. With plenty of time to read and a disdain for government, corporations, and all the ilk that goes along with living in Disneyland I have come to believe that hope is shit. If anything must be done, it must be done and we should not sit around **hoping** something will soon break and a new day will dawn. When I explain anarchy to the peasants in here they tell me to go to Russia. When I explain to them that I am against all governments as we know them they don't know what to respond. There is one prisoner, though, that insists on calling me a "commie," because in his feeble mind there is only black and white, good and bad, commie or capitalist, and if it doesn't fit, his myopic vision will make it fit. Well, you individuals, keep cranking out the propaganda and remember you have a comrade here.

En Solidaridad,
V.M., Tenn. Colony, TX.

A father named Joe

Dear Lev,

Thank you—for the subscription.

I am a prisoner at a correctional center.

I am a free thinker, and a father of sons and daughters. My oldest girl came to me one day of her own free will, (she was about 12 almost) and ask me if we (she and I) could have sex (go all the way)? She had walked in on me and my wife two times before when we were having sex, and the two times we had her sit down with us and talk over what she had seen. She was happy that mother and I took the time with her. Well that night she came in our bedroom, she got into bed on my side and kissed me, and held me. Mother looked at me and I looked back at mother, our daughter kissed me and her mother goodnight and went back to her own bed. (That's all fine and good.)

Our girl came to mother and I in two or three days and asked us when we were going to have sex again? I ask why? She asked us if it would be all right if she was to see how all of it was done? Her and mother talked it over—that night she came in our bedroom (it was late) she sat on our bed—and seen how happy mother was and I was. She told us that I looked great and she was very happy then. (Like I was saying.) My daughter asked me if I would have sex with her? I did and it was just a phase and all over in a short time. But, every now and then she would like to show off and go topless around the house. That was OK, too. I have a big family (had).

The school found out. Some how they called the state (the Department of Human Services). They took all my girls (5). No one said anything! The state put us through hell; then gave the girls back to us. Some 2½ years later (after my daughter and I had spent time with each other and had sex), she got mad at me (I told her to do some work that her mother told her to do, before she could go out with her boyfriend!) She got mad at me and swore at me. Then I got mad and hit her. Then my oldest boy got mad at me, because I hit his sister. I tried to talk to him, to tell him what was going on, my daughter ran out the back door. (The state had been brainwashing her from the time they took my girls.) So she called her boyfriend up from down the road. He came and picked her up that night. They went to the police. She told them I had hit her! That was not good enough. (The state got back into it.) The state and the police said I raped my daughter two times and my wife knew what was going on. I would not make my children go in to court against me! So I said I did do it. They put my wife in prison for about 10 or 11 months took all our children away from us—8 for good (the 8 youngest). The state at this time are putting my babies up for adoption, brainwashing my oldest 3 girls (and the state is saying real bad things about me). At first my oldest daughter told me that she was sorry and cried. That was two or three years ago now. If she writes me now, she says bad things to me! Now no one writes to me (not my 3 oldest girls) and the state is keeping me away from the other 8.

A year ago mother divorced me, and is mad with me (the state got to her, too). My oldest boy writes now and then. They say (the state to my children) that I am a bad man. My oldest girl, my ex-wife and the state have taken all I've ever had or loved from me. I am doing 10 years in prison for caring, for loving. Trying to do right by my loved ones. The state says I am a rapist. (I sent all the money I had back out to my ex-wife. She don't even write to me any more. (I got 20 years in all!)

A father named Joe

Ps. Please don't think too badly of me.

Voluntary money systems?

Greetings,

Enclosed is a 'zine I put out.

I received a sample of your stuff and kinda liked it—especially the letters section, though I think both Lev and T.P. missed the point about "free market anarchy."

The point is could a money system voluntarily exist? and if so, would it be efficient? I believe it can as money arose before the state. Also, we have the example of Scotland last century. And, free trade & free association seem the basis of any viable anarchist society. Finally, would you forbid such things and how without going against anarchist principles?

Sincerely,
[unreadable signature]

Lev comments:

Markets aren't free

It seems to me that the real point about all alleged schemes for "free markets" is that they are usually quite blatantly **unfree** in any meaningful human sense. And in a generally unfree human society, those (capitalists, statists, or other profiteers) who make and/or benefit from the unfree "free market" rules would have nothing in common with genuine anarchists. Although I see nothing inherently wrong with the adaptation of certain highly **limited** market forms intended as a transitional mechanism during a period of radical social change, those whose imagination is limited to paeans to the "free market" fetish seem completely blind to what the place of markets might be in such a situation. This is proved by your own apparent misconceptions about money (it may have arisen "before the state," but not in the form of a rationalized means of exchange!), Scotland's "free market" (?), and your backasswards idea that the ideology and practice of "free trade" has **really** been free, rather than **forcibly imposed** upon most of the world by imperialist powers! From an anarchist perspective, the "forbidding" of so-called "free trade" by industrialized corporations would really be a matter of self-defense, beginning with the abolition of wage-slavery, usury and private land ownership—upon which these corporations are all based. Of course, nobody would ever wish to stop you from selling your skateboard to anyone else using whatever form of money you wished, but this is an entirely different phenomenon from what in most cases is really meant by the ideologists of "free trade"!

Thanks for nothing

Mr. **Anarchy**,

Thanks for saying nothing about our anti-censorship battle against poster pigs here in N.Y.C. You've done zero on that front, though several articles in #23 were actually provocative, interesting, and opened up some interesting (albeit "heady") doors....

Your alternative press column is lacking. I also refuse to send you several zines I've published for that reason—you don't put much thought into your reviews. Enclosed is a review of your zeen from **Bad Newz** #13. Your tendency to lump all music zines together into a single entity, in which "they are all alike," is an annoying attitude that by the way isn't true (wake up!).

Offering these criticisms because all-in-all you're making a good effort—not because I'm trying to cut you down.

Live long and poster,
Bob Z., **Bad Newz**
NYC., NY.

Ps. If I thought you would do justice to cassette tapes of an anarchist orientation, I would send you some, but I haven't seen any evidence of that, so I think I'll save 'em. Also your lack of a personal reply to my previous notes suggests you don't give a fuck—yes I know, I'm tremendously busy too—not an encouraging sign, that—do you exist?

Lev replies:

You're welcome

Though I had intended to write up an account of your anti-censorship battle, the information you sent at my request was so unorganized that I didn't have the time to reconstruct an article from it. (It really would help if you'd at least date your news releases so that readers could better tell when things happened.) Sorry.

We don't ask anyone who isn't interested to send us zines for review; we get enough unreadable zines already to try my patience. We especially don't solicit poor quality cassette tapes—I'm afraid no one here wanted to listen to, much less review, the cassettes you sent us. Your own "thoughtful" review of **Anarchy** in **Bad Newz** exemplifies one of the worst aspects of punk culture—its self-righteously anti-theoretical bent.

Anyone who wants to receive a personal response to their letters from me will find that a lack of denunciations and abuse will help. Your last letter was so nasty I had no desire to waste my time with a reply.

Any situationists?

To the people who print **Anarchy**,

Greetings. I'm presently incarcerated (please don't let this discourage you from reading further) and I was wondering if you might be able to send me a copy of your newsletter—I am completely broke, however, I'd be happy to pay for a copy of **Anarchy** if I were not indigent. I found your address on a piece of paper at the anarchist bookstore in the Haight-Ashbury district, San Francisco. By the way, do you know of any situationists that I could write to? (Actually, I should ask if you know any situationists who would be interested in corresponding with me.) If you do, please give them my address.

Thank you very much,
Todd Sarver D51202
POB 2000, #L-219-L
Vacaville, CA. 95696-2000

Falsely incarcerated

Dear C.A.L.,

I...want to request a free prisoner's subscription for my brother-in-law who is falsely incarcerated in federal prison. John Hubbard (married to my sister) was found guilty of setting 13 bombs around Salem, Indiana in July 1988. John and another suspect were found guilty by mere circumstantial evidence. Although none of the bombs went off, they were sentenced to 13 years in prison (no parole). The main reason the feds (ATF) went after John, was that one of the bombs was found behind the office of a Salem attorney (Frank Newkirk Jr.) who is also a conservative state legislator. Newkirk went to school with John, and was familiar with John's anarchist views. John had criticized Newkirk for his anti-abortion and draconian views on measures to deal with the drug problem. When the feds asked Newkirk if he had any political enemies (after the bombings), he fingered John and sucked up the publicity. At John's trial, Newkirk labeled him an anarchist, because of John's strong views in favor of individual freedom.

The feds were under tremendous pressure to find someone and unfortunately, John Hubbard fit the stereotype they were looking for. There is no way John could've done this. If the bombs went off, they would've killed people John loved—even his own family! I could've alibied John the night the dynamite was stolen, but his defense attorney thought my testimony wouldn't carry weight because I was family.

I've written to William Kunstler and the Emergency Committee to Defend the Human & Legal Rights of Political Prisoners, but they never replied! John is indeed a political prisoner because he has always spoken in favor of social-anarchism. John's address is: John Hubbard #031 51-028, FCI Ashland, POB 888, Ashland, KY. 41101.

Newkirk, the reactionary state-legislator has subsequently caused an uproar in Hoosier politics by switching from the Democrat to the Republican Party, because the Democrats would not back his anti-abortion legislation in the state-house. Newkirk has been labeled as "Little Caesar" and as "emotionally unstable" by several state legislators in Indianapolis. Unfortunately, he has ruined my family to further his right-wing political career. There should be an article about this in the April **Rolling Stone** magazine.

Please add my name to the Anarchy Contact Network.

Yours in Freedom,
Richard Clark,
Rt.6, Box 422
Salem, IN. 47167

Why surveys?

Dear @@@@@@@@@'s

Survey's—what's the point?! @ is antithetical to consensus. Ambivalence agitates chaff from wheat. @ resists the chains of language for good reason. Words that bind surround the mindless in subliminal clouds. Setting free of compartment thinking labels and statistical computations leads to @. @ lives on another hemisphere. @ symbolizes a deed directly done.

Art is key @ crowbar of mindset. Less words! More Art! Love You!

A.T., NYC., NY.

Drug problems

Dear friends,

Along with this signing up for a sub., may I make a few comments on Joe Peacott's AIDS article of your last issue *[Anarchy #24]*?

I like the way Joe, about the first half of the article, exposes the AIDS-scare as at-bottom as **sex**-scare. Ronald Reagan, after all, had said, referring to AIDS, that "Medicine and morality teach the same lessons." The lessons, that is, of no-sex outside of monogamy and fidelity, as the 6,000-year sex-taboo (free-love-taboo) goes merrily onward! Joe did us a service by **ripping into** this taboo.

Continued on next page

Letters



Drug problems

Continued from previous page

But when Joe gets to **drugs**, **problems** arise. He wants the state to stay out of the drug scene. There then would be, as one result, more needles available, hence more sterile ones, hence less infection, hence less AIDS. I'm **no less** in favor of the state staying out of these matters. But in or out, a stark fact remains: A NEEDLE, CLEAN OR DIRTY, IS A SHOCK TO THE BODY. Shocks are know to upset immune systems.

A needle is **unnatural**. Ever see an animal in the wild **jab** itself with one? A **drug** is unnatural, **any** drug, even a **clean** one, even a **legal** one. **Sure** drugs should be decriminalized. But they're still **no more natural than the decriminalized alcohol or the coffin-stick known as cigarette**.

Unnatural? **Harmful! Illness**-provoking. If a drug gives pleasure, and some undoubtedly do, so does a shot of booze or a glittering dish of junk food. If a drug heals...but whoa! A drug **never** heals. All it does, in an illness, is suppress the symptom!

So what has all this objection of mine to all drugs to do with anarchy? Well, an anti-drug approach is really an **anarchist** approach—if anarchy means "no rulers." And which, I'd argue, would include **medical** rulers.

And we, alas—we of modern civilization—are ruled, when it comes to healthcare, precisely by medical rulers, i.e. the medical **state**. And just as authoritarian as the **political** state. And, as Joe shows, **intertwined** with the political state. While no cop forces us to visit that modern shaman known as M.D., we're our **own cop**. We've long ago **internalized** the directive "IF SICK, GO SEE A DOCTOR!" Or even if **not** sick, "GET THAT YEARLY CHECK-UP!"

While an injury, like a broken bone, **might** justify a visit to the doc, and that's a **might** (since an injured animal goes off under some bush, doesn't eat and usually pulls through), there still remains a whopping 90% or so of illnesses that are **non**-injury. This 90% carries **no justification at all** for heading over to the medical man or medical woman. **None** of their drugs, medicines and do any good, can heal. Why not? Because the living body is **self**-healing.

Which brings us to the **nub** of the matter—the body as **self-healing, self-sustaining**. If that sounds anarchistic, it is! Anarchy in the **healthcare** realm.

Or...**ANARCHO-HEALTH-CARE**. Including AIDS? Ha! AIDS **not the least**!

S. Colman, author of
Anarcho-Healthcare,
Dawn Press,
Box 02936
Detroit, MI. 48202

Neoist incoherence

Dear **Anarchy**,

Home's description of neoism and its apartment festivals seems hardly worth mentioning.

Home's description of neoism and its apartment festivals seems hardly worth mentioning.

....

Coherence=Authority,
Monty Cantsin, Baltimore, MD.

Legal advice

Dear C.A.L.,

Great magazine. A college library nearby carries it so instead of subscribing myself I'll send a back issue to my brothers to see how they like it.

There is a dire need in your journal as well as all other "alternative" media for articles containing legal advice. Of course, the best legal advice is: Don't get caught! But what if you do? Our public school system has left most folks shamefully ignorant of the legal processes that affect them. A rundown of what to do in different situations would be a big help.

Also needed by the dissident masses is stuff about tax resistance. Otherwise innocent people pay through the nose for all kinds of Evil with their taxes. The military budget, subsidies for environmentally destructive industries like beef & timber, the massive savings and loan bail out are all reasons to withhold taxes and turn that money for better causes. One small and easy—but important—step is withholding phone taxes. 3% of everyone's phone bill goes for taxes. The phone tax was set up in 1914 to pay for World War One. Since then most of the phone tax money has been siphoned directly to the military. The phone tax has raised $30 billion since 1966. The thing about the phone tax is that everyone can get away with not paying it. Here's how: When you pay your monthly phone bill include the amount before taxes due and enclose a note informing the phone company that you are refusing to pay **federal** tax. The phone company cannot legally shut off your phone service for non-payment of federal taxes. They will simply give your name to the I.R.S. & since the amount each person "owes" is so small, the I.R.S. does not have the resources to collect them from everyone. Every once in a great while, the I.R.S. will make a show of trying to collect some. If that happens, and it rarely does, then you can either just pay it or consult a war tax resistance counselor. (There are always a few of these lurking around any major metropolitan area or large university town.) There are already thousands of people across the country doing this. Thousands more will help us.

T.M., St. Paul, MN.

Even more letters on the
"Children's Sexuality" issue

No conspiracy

Dear Columbia Anarchist League,

I'll try and make this brief.

Yes, "the whole idea that only (or mainly) certified members of oppressed groups have some sort of right to speak about their situation leads to ludicrous restraints on our ability to speak about our lives in relation to others' lives." If you want to speak about your sexuality in relation to children's sexuality, or your own childhood sexuality, then by all means do so. Just please don't claim to be speaking authoritatively about "children's sexuality." I do believe that only children can do this.

You are not, in my opinion, engaged in a "conspiracy to short-change children's liberation by reducing it to a question of children's sexuality," but the outcome of concentrating most of your energy on this aspect of children's reality may very well have the same effect as if you were conspiring. I doubt not your intentions, only their results.

Most people whom I'm close with have told me of some intergenerational sexual experience which they felt fucked up by. We're talking about most people here, not a minority. If a minority can't deal with the coupling of this society's sexual fetish and an oppressive sexual experience as a child, I can't really blame them and wouldn't call them "hysterical," or liars, which seems to be what you implied ("not all of them," you qualified, but this implies "most of them").

Finding anarchist children is probably beyond your means, and most other people's too. If the experience of children who haven't come across the concept "anarchy" and so don't use the "anarchist" label isn't fit to print, then I guess you did the right thing. I do not, however, know many children who are statists.

If any of your readers are interested in what young people have to say (warning: these young people may not yet have their "anarchist anti-party membership card") they can write me and I'll send them a bibliography of books full of writings by young people about their oppression and resistance.

In struggle,
Syndicat des Elèves
2035 Boul. St-Laurent
Montréal, Québec
H2X 2T3 Canada

FOR PUBLICATION: If you have a rebuttal to make, send it to me ASAP 'coz I'm reprinting this bout of intellectual masturbation/debate in Youth Lib. 'Zine come June.

Lev responds:

No authorities

Glad to see you've toned down your attack on our "Children's Sexuality" issue. We hope it is obvious to everyone that we **never** claim to speak as some sort of official "authorities" regarding any topic. What we present are our own thoughts & opinions, and the opinions of others that we believe will be of use to our readers.

I'm sure many people have suffered through the difficulties of intergenerational sexual relationships. Many people also suffer through the difficulties of intergenerational group living (e.g. family life), intergenerational institutionalized "educational" institutions (adult "teachers" & "administrators" indoctrinating kids), and intergenerational religious indoctrination. Very few people, however, hysterically call for the abolition & criminalization of the family, or schools, or churches based on the epidemic misery imposed by these generally authoritarian institutions (which are almost always **imposed** on non-consenting, coerced children). There **do** happen to be thousands, if not millions, of sex-fearing moralists who clamor for the harassment, persecution, imprisonment and sometimes even torture (e.g. castration) of those who engage in **consenting** intergenerational or child-child sexual relationships. I consider such people to be at best mistaken due to heavy emotional identifications, and at worst miserable enforcers of authoritarian, life-denying sexual repression. Do you think differently?

We have no fetish as you imply regarding use of the "'anarchist' label." We would obviously have been happy to have included contributions written by children in the "Children's Sexuality" issue. The difficulty lies, not in finding children who claim to be anarchists, but in finding children who haven't been successfully indoctrinated, who have something worthwhile to say on the subject, and who are willing as well as able to write. You can belittle this difficulty if you wish, but it is no small problem in a world where even **talking** to children about their sexuality can lead to problems for both parties.

An incest survivor

To whom it may concern,

Just got my first copy of your magazine, was very impressed with it, especially the graphic layout. A lot of publications/alternative papers do not have a very interesting look to them. I am also impressed with the level of the debates and thinking going on in Anarchist publications that I have seen. I have been involved in radical politics for many years, mostly in the Feminist movement, but also in the more traditional left. A lot of the Socialist and more mainstream Feminist periodicals do not really discuss or question most of the basic assumptions about this society. I think that people in this society do not become activists because they are all starving to death (although, of course, many people are quite poor and homeless, etc.). Rather, I think the horrible thing that this society, and all class societies, do is to destroy the interactions between human beings, reducing us all to commodities and breaking down our families and communities. I very much enjoy Anarchist magazines because the discussion is about what kind of society **do** we want to live in and how to live as much like that as we can in the here and now, rather than waiting for some pie-in-the-sky revolution. The issue that I saw had a lot of letters about your "Childhood sexuality" issue. Since I have not seen this, I am immediately sending away for it, as well as sending in $9.00 for a subscription. However, I have some reservations that I would like to share with you.

I am an incest survivor. My own experience was clearly coercive and unpleasant. I am willing to look at the possibility that perhaps other people had pleasant sexual experiences in childhood, and that my own experience has colored my reactions to this. I definitely want to read accounts from people who had sexual encounters in childhood that they felt were beneficial to them. I hope that I will read some in the issue that I am sending away for. I believe that the people who put out **Anarchy** sincerely want a society which will best promote the free development of children and I don't feel that the people in this publication are evil, or just want to use children for their own gratification. However, my experience makes me distrust the argument that sex between children and adults is harmless to the child. I don't think that the power dynamics between children and adults can be equal, just because of the difference in age and experience, although children certainly could and should have more power than this society gives them. I have met many, many people who have stated that they went along with the adult because he or she was an adult, and not because they really wanted to be sexually involved.

For the record, I want to live in a sexually free society. I am not making these arguments based on a desire for more sexual repression. I believe that teenagers should have complete access to birth control, abortion, and detailed sexual information and I think that they should not be punished for any sexual actions that they engage in. I believe that prepubescent children also have the right to sexual information in whatever amount and at whatever level of detail they are interested in, and their sexual explorations with each other should not be interfered with. As far as age-of-consent laws, I'm not sure if they should be eliminated or just modified. I do think that anyone who coerces a teenager into sex should be stopped, prevented from doing so again, and made to make restitution if possible (for example, pay for any needed therapy or for the results of their actions on the person). And I have yet to be convinced that adults should not be prevented entirely from having sex with children before puberty.

I do believe that there is a lot of difference between the effects of sexual encounters between siblings or children of the same age and sexual encounters between children and adults in power positions over them. I also believe that there is a distinct difference between pre-pubescent children and teenagers. I think that children do derive pleasure from their bodies (i.e. experience pleasant sensations from their genitals), but that this is very different from the sexuality of persons after puberty. I think that anyone who has experienced the raging hormones and sexual obsessions of adolescence will agree that there is a distinct differ-



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ence in feeling. I don't know if it is correct to speak of children having "sexuality" in the sense that adults usually mean it.

I am particularly concerned about the idea that if children enjoy the experience and it is non-violent, therefore it is not harmful to the child. Adults have an amazing capacity to convince themselves that things that they do in their own self-interest are really for the benefit of the children involved. I am not speaking only of sexual encounters, but in general, with education, discipline, etc.

I have met and talked with quite a number of other incest survivors over the last few years and I have met many who state that the adults they were molested by (I use the word "molested" because these were people who regarded themselves as coerced and molested) had convinced themselves that the children enjoyed the experience and it was beneficial to them. The survivors that I am speaking of report to me that violence was not involved, and indeed that they did not get sexual pleasure from the experience. It was still damaging to them, even though the molestor was careful and non-violent, and they derived some physical pleasure from it. These people did not speak up at the time, because either they were afraid to or because they felt that they should trust the adult. However, they were aware at the time that the adult did not have their best interests at heart. Children are very sensitive and can pick up on people's intent.

It does seem that even one incident of sexual coercion can have severe, lifelong, damaging effects. It also appears that, if a situation is sexualized, that the damage done is much more severe than a similar situation would otherwise be. I know that in my own case, even though I experienced many kinds of abuse in my childhood, physical and emotional, as well as neglect severe enough to force the State to take me away from my mother, the sexual abuse that I received was by far the most damaging. It seemed to really make me feel horrible about my body and myself in a way that the other abuses did not. It often seemed as though there was this horrible alien **thing** inside my body. This seems to be true with adults too; rape is more traumatic than physical assault alone. Even situations where there is no physical violence, but where the person is pressured into having sex for some other reason, are damaging.

After reading about this, I think that this might have to do with the violation of people's need to have boundaries. The most basic boundaries are those of your own body. Having your physical integrity violated can make you feel as though the problem is right inside your body. Another factor, I think, is that sex is the most profound physical pleasure that we know, and is a basic physical need. People who have been sexually abused develop very mixed feelings about pleasure and this sets up a basic alienation in the person's psyche. It is my belief that creating alienation at this basic of a level creates many other psychological problems in a person. Certainly, incest survivors tend to display problems in many areas of their lives, not only with sexuality. Since children's boundaries are not fully formed, I think that we need to be especially careful when discussing sex between adults and children.

Being treated as a sexual object also seemed to have a profound impact on my self image, causing me to regard myself as an object, rather than as a person. All women are constantly assaulted with billboards, advertisements, etc. displaying women as objects for male gratification. This pressure lowers women's self-esteem, and is certainly responsible in large part for the current epidemic of anorexia and bulimia. Surely, you would not argue that adult women are not damaged from being treated as sexual objects by men, even if the men take care to make sure that the women have orgasms too. The same situation seems to apply to the children in question here. They can perceive that they are not being regarded as whole people, and this is very frightening to them.

I don't think that the statement that you made—that furor is just because girls are being sexually active—is necessarily true. I have met a large number of men who are incest survivors, including the man who is currently my lover. The number out there is far larger than most people realize. One of the things that they tell me, is that people often refuse to believe that they were injured by the experience because they are male and "boys will be boys," as one person replied to a letter in the issue I saw. There is a general feeling in society that boys are supposed to get all the sexual experience that they can and should somehow be grateful, even if it is forced on them. Also, I don't think that girls would necessarily be rushing out to have sex with older persons in large numbers if they were sexually empowered by this society. Many young women have expressed that they felt pressured into sex by their boyfriends, who threatened to leave them if they didn't have sex. It may be that young women in a sexually free society would not choose to have sex as often, or as young. We don't really know what a truly sexually free society would look like. We certainly do not live in one. I believe, that in addition to all restrictions on people's ability to have sex being removed, we would also have to have a society where women were not treated constantly as sexual objects, where the highest sexual premium was not placed on youth or physical appearance, where sex was not used to sell products, and where a woman's (and a child's) right to say no to sex was actually respected. I know many young girls who are quite upset by the attentions of older persons because they correctly perceive that they are being objectified by a society that thinks that teenaged women are the most sexually attractive; the younger the better. They know that many men, in particular, feel this way about them and do not desire to be desired simply for their bodies and nothing else.

I am also not certain that the statement that you make about non-technological societies permitting sexual contact between adults and children is correct. My understanding is that the oldest taboo to develop in civilization was the taboo against inter-generational sex. If you know of evidence to the contrary, please let me know and I will go look it up.



© 1990 *Mr. Fish (Manahawkin, NJ.).*

Again, I would be interested in reading accounts from people who state that the experience was not harmful to them. Perhaps I will read some when I get the issue that I have ordered. I felt it necessary to express my concerns, however. Adults have the responsibility to make sure that no action that they do harms children. Thank you.

C.A., L.A., CA.

Lev comments:

Sex or sensuality?

Thank you for a very thoughtful letter, without the unnecessary finger-pointing & denunciations we've seen in some of the other letters critical of our stance on these issues.

I suppose the most important point that needs to be reiterated in response to your well considered questions and challenges is that as long as the concept of "sex" remains unexamined and its use remains undefined in your comments, it is hard to know exactly what you mean and where you are drawing your lines. As anarchists we wish to draw as few arbitrary distinctions as possible in order to allow our own and other's experiences to remain open and relatively free. This means that for us the usual heavily reified categories of social analysis and social control are more than just highly suspect. They are simply unacceptable when they remain unquestioned and uncriticized, because they always contain implicit value-judgments—usually repressive in character. In the case of the prevailing discourse concerning sex and sexuality there are several important streams of repressive thought and practice which seem to have come together to influence and reinforce each other at this juncture in history.

In the first case there is the obviously repressive and morbid attitude of the religious fundamentalists for whom no sex is good sex, and no sexuality is good sexuality. However, if God, the state, and certain earthly religious authorities give reluctant permission, they will tolerate a bit of this nasty stuff, within certain very narrow limits. These people are only (pathetically) "happy" when they are able to exercise enough power over themselves and others to prevent any experience of illicit pleasure. They are obviously ill people.

In the second case there is the strong influence of repressive feminists (call them what you will—the feminist right, anti-sex feminists, feminist ideologues) like Andrea Dworkin. Repressive feminists have often begun with a legitimate concern for the effects of unequal power and patriarchal traditions in sexual relationships. However, as with the religious fundamentalists, a major thrust of their activities has been the proscription (whether legal, moralistic, or ideological) of those types of consenting sexuality which they fear, despise and/or (possibly) desire most. These are the people who brought us the vacuous, but politically explosive, distinction between pornography (mostly male-defined sex representation according to them) and erotica (the porn they like, or at least are willing to tolerate).

A third case is the growing industrialization of social analysis and social control techniques. An army of cops, judges, jailers, social workers, psychologists, therapists, sociologists, counselors, and other petty bureaucrats (sadly, including the "social-work left") have swollen the payrolls of government and public institutions. In order to justify their parasitism, they have had to come up with ever newer and more threatening social pathologies from which they can claim to protect us. More and more areas of life have been criminalized at the same time as the techniques of surveillance, interrogation and repression have been extended, refined and made more powerful.

For all three of these groups the "discoveries" of child abuse and/or sexual abuse have been godsends. And each has benefitted from the others' legitimation of an increasingly generalized attitude of repressive intolerance for any deviant (i.e. non-conservative) social groups and practices. Of course, each of these repressive groups has it own agenda, along with its own contradictions, internal conflicts and extremists. The fundamentalists tend to go off the deep end looking for Satanists, ritual child-abusers or gay molesters. The feminists tend to foam at the mouth over any evidence of male sexuality, to the extent that one of the current hot topics of debate in feminist circles is the attempt to keep infants with penises from attending women's festivals! And the ranks of the petty bureaucrats are replete with pseudo-experts willing and able to categorize more and more areas of life as criminal, at the same time as they lay claim to the right to administer all those areas of life which are still to be tolerated—at least for now. The concept of freedom has no place in **their** plans.

It is in this context, of a growing consensus by repressive forces that non-conservative sexual ideas and practices must be stamped out regardless of the consequences, that questions regarding children's sexuality must be posed. To ignore these powerful social currents shaping our current reality can only mean that one is tacitly accepting their definition of our world, giving up our powers for **self**-definition without a fight. Anyone serious about ending social alienation and promoting libertarian alternatives sooner or later has to confront the reification involved in all the repressive techniques currently gaining ground. They **all** depend upon a strategy of stigmatizing, and ultimately criminalizing, whole categories of human interaction regardless of whether they involve consent or not. There are many arguments that can be made for this type of blanket criminalization; every one of them is authoritarian.

Sure, everything people do—regardless of professed altruistic motives—is always to an important degree "for their own gratification." In itself this is not an argument for or against anything. Sure, children and adults have unequal power. So do any one individual and any other individual, regardless of whether they are both children, both adults, or adult and child. Sure, adults can be—and usually are—subtly coercive on a variety of levels when it comes to dealing with children. But this doesn't mean that it makes any sense to criminalize all sexual contact between adults and children. Sure, children have been hurt by unwanted sexual experiences. But many more children have also been hurt by unwanted sexual repression. There is an important and subtle balance involved in allowing children the power to determine their own lives, and attempting to protect them from things they may not be sure whether or not they want.

Anyone genuinely committed to working for a "sexually free society" will have no desire to criminalize whole categories of consenting activity for reasons which at best justify intervention only in **some** cases. And even then, it is highly questionable whether any individual or community intervention could define such activities as "criminal" (in the usual sense of the word) and still have much claim to being a "free" society. It simply makes no sense in general to put people in prison for "sex crimes" in which both parties consent. Since there simply is **no** uniform age at which children suddenly become able to consent (whereas one day earlier they weren't able!), age-of-consent laws should be abolished. But for the same reason, children need more power and many fewer restrictions on their lives in general—and they especially need the power to live wherever and with whomever they wish in order to be more easily able to escape situations of abuse or molestation.

While I am very sympathetic with many of your comments, your seeming confusion over the meaning of sex and sexuality bothers me. Like the bogus distinctions between erotica and pornography, arguments which automatically equate all sexuality with genital sexuality (or even more narrowly with genital intercourse) deny the reality of our expe-

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Sex or sensuality?

Continued from previous page

rience which doesn't come neatly packaged in discrete categories. Thus your remark (in response to my own comments regarding intergenerational "sexual contact" in primitive societies) about the supposed "taboo against inter-generational sex" being "the oldest taboo to develop" seems to assume among other things that "sex" is always equivalent to genital intercourse, when this is not at all what I was speaking of. It is just this type of reification, which treats the distinction between sex and sensuality (or sexual and non-sexual experience) as one of **black and white**, that threatens to submerge any possibility of ever freeing our sexuality under the rising tide of authoritarian administration and overt criminalization. Freeing our sexuality is not an easy task, precisely because it requires the acceptance of a certain level of risk for its possibility. But failure to accept this level of necessary risk means reversion to authoritarian "solutions."

Different perspective

Dear **Anarchy**,

There are anarchist zines I read for edification—**5th Estate, Insurrection, Demolition Derby**; for entertainment—**Class War, Arkangel, Live Wild or Die**; and because there's nothing else to read—hey, I'd better not list them! **Anarchy** goes into the first list. There are too many anarchist zines, particularly on the British market, that think its treason to make readers think for themselves and fill their paper with petty sectarian crap to ensure no one else does either.

This said, I should note for the benefit of non-British readers that the comrade from Attack International is perhaps overstating the "strong orientation towards the working class" over here in his letter to **Anarchy** *[see issue #23, p.34]*. There are a wide range of class struggle anarchist groups on the British scene—from Class War, Attack and London Echomedia on the militant end to sundry syndicalists and the near-Trotskyite Anarchist Workers Group on the other—and that is understandable in a country ruled by a vicious class warrior like Margaret Thatcher.

Few have illusions about the worth of the Labour Party, trade union bureaucracies and other entrenched functionaries of "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition," but a regrettable number are infected with the arrogance of the Marxist left, bitterly sectarian and narrow-minded. It is typical that S.H. should inform readers "only the working class can stop environmental destruction...and nothing else." and have such difficulty understanding that as the majority of the working class reside outside the factories of Europe "anti-imperialism" actually has some relevance to class struggle and "global social revolution." Those class-struggle anarchists not pretending to be "left communists" or whatever candy-coated label they are trying to make the people swallow are busily trying to deny anarchist identity to those with a different perspective on anarchism. Class is important as a concept for understanding global power relations, but class-struggle anarchists in the U.K. seem to think it the only one, and one stuck in a discourse threadbare at the turn of the last century and which even neo-Marxists scorn as reductive!

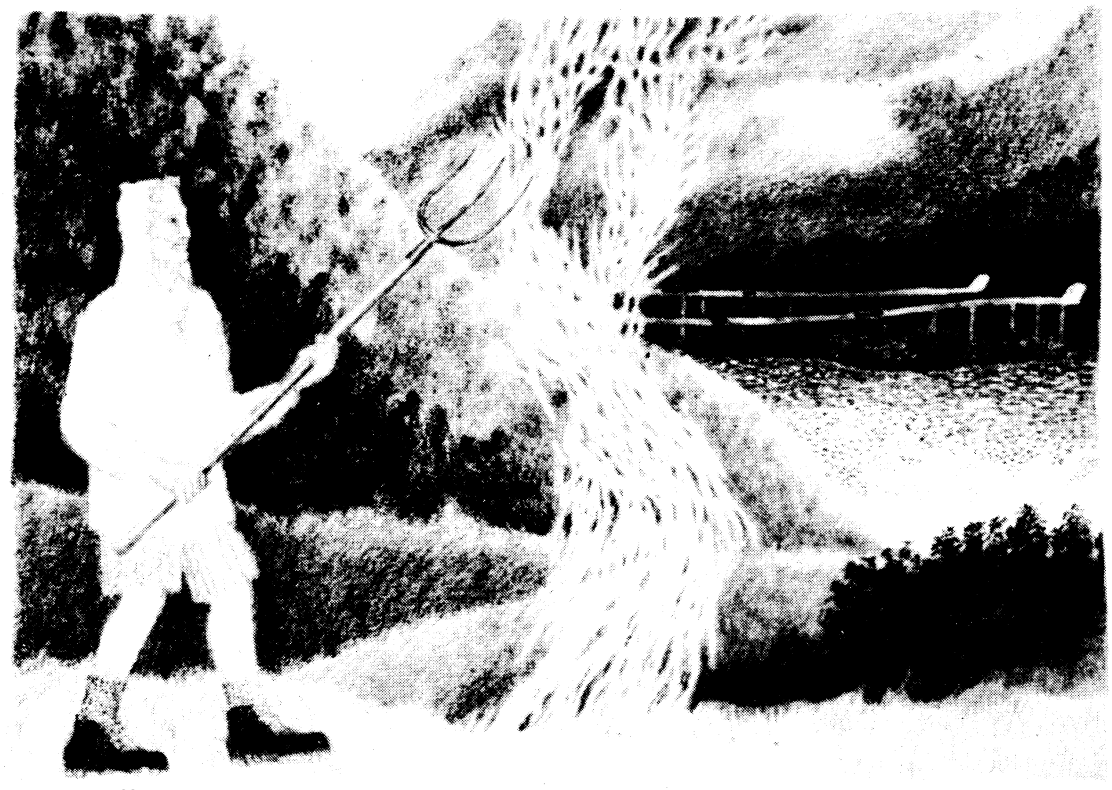
Who are "those with a different perspective?" Typically the one reference S.H. makes to the other face of the British anarchist movement is to "marginalized individualistic lifestylists." Amongst the "marginalized" are the Animal Liberation Front, whose internal mailings have higher circulation than the biggest syndicalist publication in U.K., **Direct Action**, and who have caused more material damage to the country's economy than arms and explosives, movements like the I.R.A.! They are the tip of the animal rights iceberg, direct action crews like hunt saboteurs boasting more than their fair share of anarchists, and a hell of a lot more effective at what they do than a few paper sellers on a picket line. Or perhaps S.H. is referring to a thriving counterculture where many thousand issues of punk fanzine and Free Information Network newsletters (40,000 in Oxford alone since late 1988!) are exchanged, where bands like Conflict spark riots at every venue they play, and where Wiltshire goes into a "state of siege" every June over the Stonehenge land struggle? Again, this is the tip of an iceberg of contact with anarchist ideas, for every punk or traveller who is with them, ensuring anarchist ideas receive a sympathetic hearing on our terms by the mainstream and new blood drawn into the counterculture to sustain it. I regret I cannot speak in such detail of the many anarcha-feminists insulted by the suggestion that "patriarchy is an outgrowth of capitalism" and gay and lesbian people sick of being told "homophobia is a tactic for dividing the working class" and being told the emancipation of the proletariat is a panacea for their oppressions. No doubt they will speak of their frustrations and struggles themselves.

Class struggle anarchists are liable to dismiss such "marginalized single issues" as the comrade from Attack does the Autonomes: "totally inward looking, stuck in their militant ghettoes, with little orientation towards the only force that can change society: the working class." They fail to see that these struggles create a sustaining sense of community, a commitment, and a purity of analysis that their own movement lacks due to its avid dialogue with ossified socialism. Where is their challenge to technocratic domination (other than sops about "capitalist technology") or to the looting of the Earth (other than comments on "rationalizing production under workers' control")? They call communities of resistance "ghettoes" (surely ill-chosen words in an American publication!) and then refuse to support militant demonstrations, refuse to circulate literature and even—as in Liverpool—take it upon themselves to evict anarchist squatters for motives narrow-minded even in comparison to the pacifist actions of **Peace News** in the name of the class struggle they make little contribution to in comparison with established and reformist socialist groups. An exchange over who is most marginalized is largely futile, but British class-struggle groups, with the possible exception of Class War (skilled propagandists who, for readers information, actually coined the phrase "Bash the Rich"), have yet to appreciate that loyalty to the working class will not mean universal and reciprocal working class loyalty towards anarchism.

I close this letter having probably said too much. I am more than willing to discuss what I have said above, for much more needs to be said. Keep those **Anarchys** coming!

Yours for peoples' power
and personal autonomy,
P.N.Rogers
Editor, **Green Anarchist**
Box H, 34 Cowley Road
Oxford, U.K.

Ps. Readers will no doubt be reassured to learn that not all green anarchists share the last editor, Richard Hunt's, reductive views on biology, "human nature" and feminism. At **Green Anarchist** we believe in discussing opinions, not toeing party lines.



"Heuer und Ungeheuer." *Reprinted from* ***Hotcha!*** *#67/68 (Urban Gwerder, CH-7243, Switzerland).*

CIA drug games

Hello Lev,,

I've written to Keith Ostertag, who was looking for a biblio. on CIA-drug games in **Anarchy** #24 *[see page 26, "Talking about survival"]*. Here are a few sources:

Inside the Shadow Government (Christic Institute, Washington, DC., 1988), indexed mainly under CIA, cocaine, opium.

Mother Jones Aug./Sept. 1987. "Crimes of Patriots," detailing the tie-in of the Nugan Hand Bank of Australia and the CIA. At Chiang Mai, opium market for the Golden Triangle, Nugan Hand shared a suite with—of all people—the U.S. DrugEnforcementAdministration.

The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, International Fascism (Henrick Kruger, South End Press, 1980).

The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia (Alfred W. McCoy, Harper and Row, 1972).

It is obvious that the skills and connections desired by "national security" organizations are identical with those possessed by the criminal syndicates. Noam Chomsky's observations on the culture of terrorism offer a solid rationale for the continuing interpenetration of these institutions.

Great job under way with the continuing discussion of anarchy and the sacred. For the last half century, I wondered why the opportunity to snort, "a pox on both your houses," came along so often!

Going on 72 and still slugging.

C.B., Hawkestone, Ontario

More on drug games

Dear **Anarchy**,

On pp. 26-27 of issue 24, K.O. from Vermont asks for information related to the C.I.A., the Southeast Asian drug trade, and entry of heroin (or nowadays crack) into the U.S. I wish to list a few sources which only scratch the surface but may provide needed information.

For audio cassettes one may request a catalog from: Archives on Audio, P.O. Box 170023, San Francisco, CA. 94117-0023. Also, The Other America's Radio, P.O. Box 85, Santa Barbara, CA. 93102.

Books of interest: *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* by Alfred McCoy (Harper & Row, 1972). Also, *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, and International Fascism* by Henrik Kruger (South End Press, 1980).

The Christic Institute, 1324 North Capitol Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20002 has a number of informational resources related to guns, drugs, the C.I.A., etc., including the video "Coverup." Their "Declaration of Evidence" may be useful also.

Covert Action Information Bulletin is a magazine whose back issues are indexed and which focusses on the bloody adventures of various "intelligence" agencies. Their address: P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Finally, for those who need a more general overview or context in which to put all this discussion of governments, intelligence, and pacification of the populace via drugs, I would suggest *A People's History of the United States* by Howard Zinn (Harper & Row, 1980), or any of the political-historical writings of Noam Chomsky.

B.T. Columbia, MO.

Quick comments

Dear folks,

Just 2 quick comments re letters section in the Mar./Apr. issue: **First**, you ask (page 27) about the sources on the CIA and the drug trade. I don't know about it being one of the most lucrative government scams, though it is doubtless a tidy clandestine moneymaker, but those interested can check, for starters, Jonathan Kwitney, *The Crimes of Patriots: A True Tale of Dope, Dirty Money, and the CIA* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), Henrik Kruger, *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, and International Fascism* (Boston: South End Press, 1980), and Steven Wisotsky, *Beyond the War on Drugs* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1990), as well as various issues of **Covert Action Information Bulletin**.

Second: Your answer (p.26) to D.R. of St. Charles, MO. is totally inadequate. (She or he is concerned about the likelihood of the reemergence of elites and domination in a new society.) Yeah, okay, the "populace" can exile or kill a few "power mongers" occasionally, to preserve an ongoing "anarchist society." The real point, though, is that getting there requires creating social forms (interactions and organizations) which elites and leaders do not dominate. That is to say, people not habituated to passivity, manipulation, exploitation, and domination. Which means facing the problems of interpersonal relations and group decisionmaking now, instead of leaving them to future assassins. You dismiss this, I think you'll agree, too hastily in your response.

[Note: I was merely assuming that such things would have already been



Letters

dealt with before an anarchist society would have ever come into existence in the first place. It seems to me quite obvious that if a anarchist community can't deal with the problems you raise, that it won't succeed from the start.-Lev]

Where are the anarchists?

Dear Lev,

When they say march, they mean it.

Saturday, March 24, we took part in the protest of U.S. support to El Salvador's right-wing government and to commemorate slain Archbishop Oscar Romero.

We gathered in front of the Federal Building in downtown Austin. I had assumed we would walk a couple of blocks north to the capitol for a rally. Two significant details should have told me this was not to be.

One was the amount of motorcycle police. Two was that the Austin people were wearing running shoes. Heavy duty running shoes.

We expected 80 degree temperatures but a cold front brought in winds gusting at 25 mph. By noon the temperature had dropped to 59 and continued to slip an average of 3 degrees every hour. The march was to begin at 2:00pm. We were waiting for the Catholic Church to finish their services. I realized I wasn't going to make it in a T shirt and walked down the hill to a second hand store and picked up a sweater.

However, it did ruin my identity as I found out later when a girl, who was standing right next to me said "where are all the anarchists." I looked at her in surprise, then looked at myself. I had covered my red T shirt with black arm band up by putting on a raggedy, white, Mr. Rogers sweater. Most of the people in Austin are intellectual and informed, so I thought they would snap to red and black. Because the Earth First! people knew me, and my comfort was more important to me than my appearance then I could be considered that. As indeed I was, when later another Earth First!er (Lawrence) joined me saying "you're with Earth First!"

The police started us out at 2:00pm. They guided us through the wino district, under the expressway, out of town, into the low-income housing district and to a neighborhood park. We marched 26 blocks. I thought they were going to march us clear out of Texas.

Lawrence, an international writer, tried to tell me all kinds of interesting information about the CIA in Central America, stuff I hadn't even heard from ex-CIA agent Stockwell. Unfortunately I couldn't hear it all because there were three strapping Catholic youths behind us shouting out slogans the entire march. "U.S. guns kill priests and nuns!" etc. Add this to the fact that they were carrying the huge effigies against 25 mph winds, and one had to admire them. (To hire this team call St. David's in Austin.)

The weather definitely looked like rain so I didn't catch the speeches at the park. On the long trek back to town, I amused myself by looking for unusual stones on the ground. I did find a pink one, the Capitol Building is made out of pink granite.

Driving home I become filled with emotion. Man, I am so bored.

Later the pink rock turned out to be petrified bubble gum circa 1960.

Ann Howe, New Braunfels, TX.

Calculated social change

Dear C.A.L.,

I've been reading your paper for about 5 yrs. now and although I don't agree with many of the things you have to say I enjoy and appreciate your open minded, alternative approach a great deal. I found the article on "Isolation" in #24 especially interesting. As a student of Marx I am fascinated by the concept of alienation and isolation in our society. My only question to you concerns the idea that an anarchist state would only serve to strengthen this isolation due to the violence and turmoil involved in an overthrow of the existing state. Wouldn't our society be more effectively enhanced through more moderate, calculated social change? Could we not use more viable means such as a redistribution of wealth to put control back in the hands of the masses. An effective redistribution of wealth in our society would serve to de-polarize our system and would move us toward the optimal midpoint of social democracy. This would decrease power of the govt. and the super rich and put people in a much better position to retake control of their lives and their destinations. Inequality is the primal evil of our system today but it is not an evil which is undefeatable. People will remain isolated as long as they feel powerless to change the world around them. By giving people the means by which to better themselves you effectively break the social chains that keep so many individuals locked in their gloomy worlds of hopelessness and despair.

Please respond to this letter. I am not an anarchist but I would truly like to hear your opinions.

Lev comments:

False opposition isn't enough

It might be nice if the world were structured such that we could all collectively just decide what needs to be done—before going on to straightforwardly do it. However, social change is a highly complex and problematic process. And what sounds like it might be effective, yet nice and non-threatening on paper is usually just effective at keeping things essentially the same.

There is a good reason why social democracy has utterly failed to **ever** challenge the dominant institutions of hierarchical society—because it seeks only to **rule** this society, not to abolish political authority. The only people who genuinely seek to end the alienation and isolation of modern industrial capitalism are those who aren't afraid to attack the root of that alienation and isolation—the separation of people from each other and from their own powers to determine their lives. Such people are called anarchists because they understand that for community to be recovered and for people to genuinely regain power over their entire lives political hierarchies and wage slavery must be abolished.

Social democracy is a form of **false** opposition because while it seeks to portray itself as to some degree anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian, in actual practice it always **is** capitalist and authoritarian in all significant respects. Social democracy is "viable" all right; it is a viable way for the ruling class to hang onto its power while fooling people that something has changed. Social democracy is the "new, improved" face of capitalism and hierarchy. Give your vote to social democracy if you really want to be fooled again, and again, and again....

Distasteful travelog

This is meant to furnish information...in following up on the Jan.-Feb. issue [#23].

The good news is that the book asked about by Attack International, *Failure of a Revolution: Germany, 1918-1919*, by Sebastian Haffner is good. The book created a sensation in West Germany when published in 1969 since it affronted received views in both Germanies. The revolution was a real one, albeit humane, by the spontaneous action of workers who nonetheless were loyal to the very Social Democracy which first equivocated with, then massacred them. Bolsheviks, "Sparticists" and councilists (if any) had variously little or nothing to do with the course of events.

The bad news is the book was published in translation in 1986 by Banner Publications, the RCP outlet, and contains a brief low-key intro peddling Avakianist doctrine. Any "anarchist" too delicate to broad-jump this mud puddle should become a nun or a Green or something. The book itself is innocent of Maoism and would seem to pose more problems than it might solve for the RCP—not that they're a farce to be reckoned with any more. Even the Albanians are starting to wobble!

More important, Will Firth's Yugoslav travelog is distastefully reminiscent of Caitlin Manning's Nicaraguan pilgrimage in an upside-down sort of way. She found the authority she wanted, he didn't. Firth regards the total absence of interest in anarcho-syndicalism as evidence that Yugoslav anarchism is "rudimentary," I regard it as evidence of sophistication. He utterly fails to recognize that Yugoslav indifference to syndicalism follows **directly** from their cynicalizing experience of "workers' self-management." The difference is merely terminological; indeed some say Tito got the idea from the anarcho-syndicalists he helped repress in Spain as an agent for the Comintern. For him as for Mussolini it proved readily adaptable to purposes of hierarchic control since it necessitates a top-heavy (self-)management structure resting on the division of labor in industrialism.

Like Manning, Firth trades on his extended stay and his language ability to validate his views, but as with Manning, the ability to speak the language is unilluminating without a corresponding willingness to listen to it. I suspect he went to Yugoslavia hoping to reprise the success of Bakunin's emissary Fanelli in Spain—to electrify the natives with his anarchist message—and resents his failure. That may be to make too much of the identifiable biases and omissions in his account but years of painful experience have sensitized me to anti-authoritarian grifters.

I wonder, if Yugoslavia is "a weak link in the anarchist chain," can Firth name me a **strong** one? Call me a Stirnerist but talk of **anarchist chains** (or of getting **bound together**) makes me watch my back.

I speak, not as an expert, but as someone with longstanding contacts with a Yugoslav anarchist with whom I have practically collaborated. Speaking only of Slovenia, the industrialized northeastern republic, I have reason to qualify Firth's account. My source and friend is Gregor Tomc, an anarchist also active in the Slovene punk movement since 1977 when he was censored both in his band Pankrti and his publication **Problemi**. There as here the resurgence of anarchism has been closely linked to punk. Tomc contributed to Gerry Reith's *Neutron Gun* (1984) and we co-edited a Slovene language anthology of North American marginals' texts and graphics, *Pozdravi iz Babilona* (*Greetings from Babylon*) published in 1987. If Firth reads Slovene he should have read this as he could then not have said there is "virtually nothing modern and/or popular available in Yugoslavia.

Our anthology includes texts by Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous, Peter Werbe of the **Fifth Estate**, Gregor Jamroski, Trevor Blake of **Ovo**, Franklin Rosemont, lesbian anarchist Kathy Fire, Gerry Reith (to whom the book is dedicated), Gidget Digit on **Processed World**, myself (including the entire "Abolition of Work" reprinted by this magazine), even the Church of the SubGenius. Graphics/cartoons appeared from Freddie Baer, Blake and Jamroski again, Garrett O'Hara, Tuli Kupferberg, Black Thumb Press, Dadata, Paul Mavrides and Incite! Also an 8-page contact list. The 1,000 copies made available to 2 million Slovenes is like a press run of 120,000, relative to the population, here. Other texts by the publisher, KRT, if not necessarily qualifying as post-situationist and such, indicate that Slovenes have access to Wilhelm Reich, Orwell, Toni Negri, a book on Kronstadt, a 2-volume anarchist anthology, Alexandra Kollontai, Johann Most, even the ball-busting Susan Brownmiller. Yugoslavs, like most Eastern Europeans, know a lot more about Western history and thought than we know about theirs.

I haven't heard from Tomc since **glasnost**, about which he was thoroughly skeptical, spread to the satellite countries and now is touching Yugoslavia too. For what it's worth let me render his views as I last heard them—views forged by a decade of conflict with this most "humane" face of national Communism. I base this not only on a long correspondence but on a few days together in the States in 1986. (Tomc lived in New York City for a couple years as a child, his father was a journalist posted to the UN, and his English is impeccable.)

Tomc is (or was) an anarchist but of an existentialist, fatalist bent. Professionally he is a sociologist, which over there means not a college professor but a survey research analyst, he has only a college degree. He thought bureaucratic Communism was an unshakable yoke—hence the cynicism Firth confirms. The populace was dazed into passivity by the inconceivability of anything important ever changing. "Self-management" he wouldn't even deign to discuss. "There are very few leftists," he wrote me, "in leftist countries." If this anarchist intellectual hated Communism so far as to cheer for the **contras** in Nicaragua—as he did, a source of bitter argument between us—imagine what the other Yugoslavs think of Titonic-Stalinism.

Some Yugoslavs may be "rudimentary" as Firth condescendingly phrases it, others, from what I hear, are maybe too hip. North American anarchists largely divide into an influential minority of university (or "tertiary" as Firth says) educated sorts and an evanescent majority of momentarily agitated punks. It is about the same in Yugoslavia. I should think the national differences are nothing compared to this stratification which, while it excites the organizers, guarantees that in the unlikely event the anarchists triumph they will reproduce the forms of domination they set out to dissolve.

Mine, not yours, truly,
Bob Black, Albany, NY.

Slanderous charges

Dear Lev,

It was disturbing to me that you chose to print Bill McCormick's slanderous charges against our newspaper without first checking with us to see whether they had any validity. A rebuttal such as this never serves to totally erase an unfounded contention, in this case, that the **Fifth Estate** "suppressed" a response to the essays of George Bradford and other **FE** writers

Continued on next page

Most people believe they need the state

Continued from page 29

what my stance on propaganda must be then. I see the world from more of an anarcho-communist viewpoint; although I am capable of rational thinking and some sort of independence, I'm still interdependent with all the others that I share the earth with, some more than others. Society affects me and when it oppresses me, I seek to stop it. (And by the way that's by trying to uproot the problems, not curtail them.) No person is sacred. How dare I question other people's actions? I do it all the time. Does anybody know an anarchist who doesn't question, say, the actions of the president? Question me too; I expect at least that much from a cynic. To label the actions of one person as unacceptable and the actions of another as OK is passing the real moral judgment; and how do we get past that? We can learn to take a four-dimensional look at the world around us, the fourth dimension being the dimension of "why."

Slanderous charges

Continued from previous page

regarding our criticisms of deep ecology and Earth First! (EF!).

I think there is a considerable difference between choosing not to print something which is submitted for publication because of editorial considerations and "suppression"—the refusal to publish material which is crucial for an issue under debate. We decided long ago to stop printing McCormick's letters to the **FE** as they had become increasingly vitriolic, insulting and (we thought) unproductive for the discussion we desired to generate about the roots of the ecological crisis.

In one diatribe, he accused us of suppressing the Naess text which **Anarchy** subsequently published *[see Anarchy #25, page 33]* and blamed it on "the boss"—Bradford. This gross misrepresentation of our collective process should have been enough for us to sever communication with him, but since none of us had even heard that one of the founders of the deep ecology philosophy had written a response, I wrote and asked him for a copy. I also corrected him on his view of the **Fifth Estate** decision making process and told him he was becoming "pathological" about Bradford. (I assume the other adjectives he quoted from us in his letter were similarly taken out of context.)

McCormick finally sent us an undated carbon copy of the Naess reply without an explanation as to where he had obtained it, if it had ever been printed elsewhere or how we were to determine if it was even genuine. Why hadn't Naess sent it directly to us in 1987 when Bradford's original essay critical of deep ecology first appeared? Upon seeing it, Bradford immediately wanted to print it and pen a response, taking it for granted that it had come from the hand of Naess. However, the majority of us were less enthusiastic, arguing that the issue had run its course. McCormick contradictorily says we are beating a dead horse with endless articles about deep ecology, then demands we print more.

EF! has changed dramatically since the **FE**, Bookchin and, most importantly, those inside EF! began criticizing the reactionary positions of the group. The right-wingers are leaving EF! in droves, including Foreman at last report, as the group takes on an increasingly radical and more anarchistic approach; maybe McCormick should find where they are going and join them.

Bert Wirkes
Fifth Estate
4632 Second Ave.
Detroit, MI. 48201

Ps. Bradford's original essay, *How Deep Is Deep Ecology* is available in book form from the **FE** Books for $5.50 plus postage while subsequent issues on the subject are $1.50 each.

Middle grounders

Hi!

We need a free copy of yer journal. Lots of activists come thru here (Redwood Summer Office) and we need a hell of a lot more anarchy. Earth First! organizational aspects really suck when it comes down to it. It's supposed to be a newspaper and an ideology, but then all of a sudden we have individuals who say they represent the EF! organization, and they want to tailor their position to fit the needs of the middle grounders! Fuck that! It's pretty obvious that all logging on this planet must cease immediately. None of this select cut bullshit. We've got to plant & plant & plant some more —tear up the pavement and build with that! (And hemp, of course)

T.J.,
Arcata Action Center
931 I St.
Arcata, CA. 95521

The nature of wildness

Hi Lev,

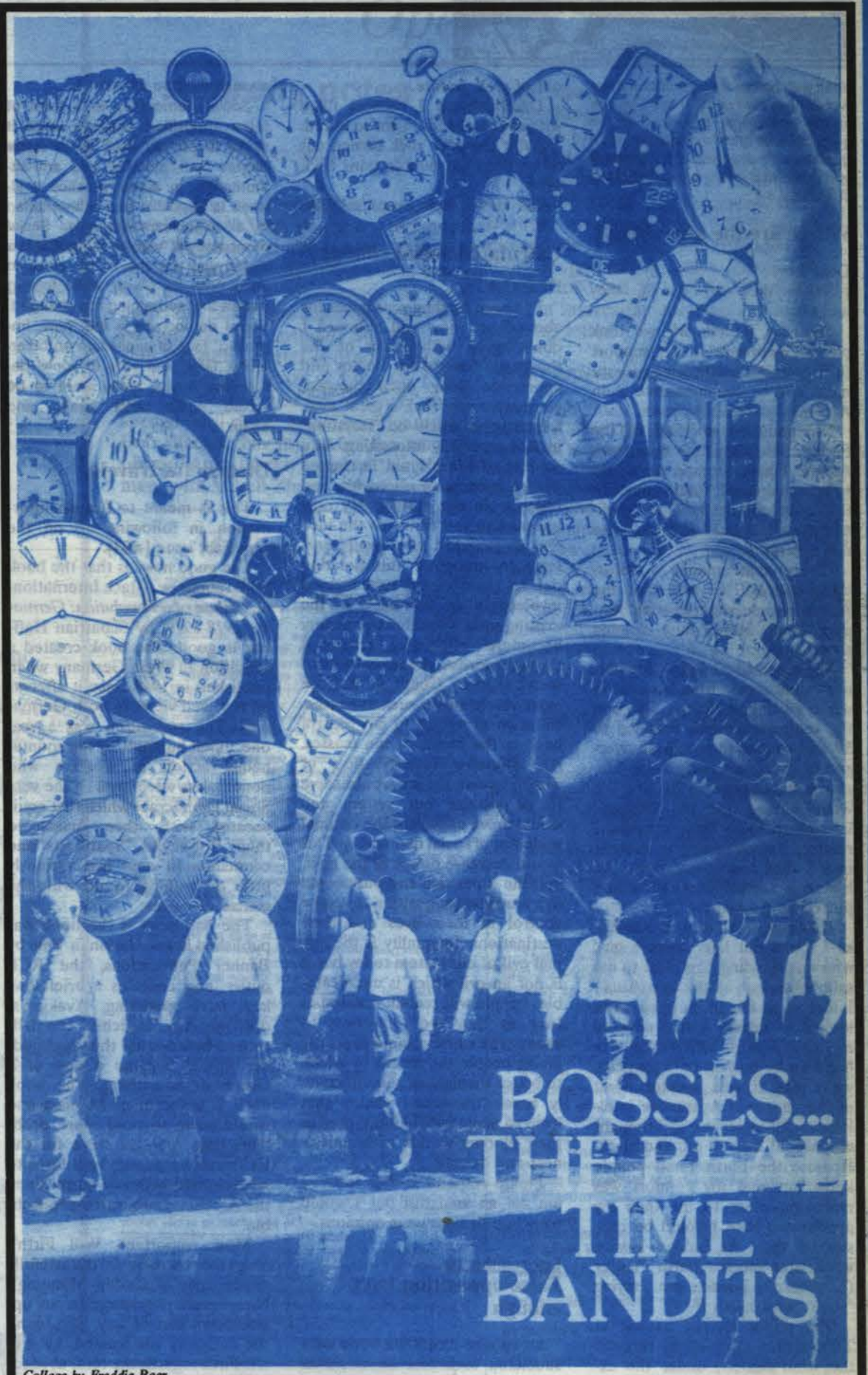
Lone Wolf Circles has written you another arrogant, self-righteous letter. And one proclaiming his own "wildness" while clinging to civilized, rationalized modes of thought. For Wolf sees "nature" not as a construct of thought—at times useful, but with heavy ideological dangers—but as a real entity to whom we are to give ourselves.

But "nature" is an idea invented by civilized philosophers (the Greeks clarified it in pretty much its modern form—a conception which in no way contradicts Wolf's "wild symbiotic whole"). Civilization, being monolithic, conceives of all things as monolithic, and through the concept of "nature" creates from the myriads of wild beings a single monolithic thing. In this way, wildness ceases to be a trait of individual beings who have not been domesticated or who throw off their domestication and rather becomes a separate, monolithic realm, allowing civilization to define the wild expressions in its midst as immaturity, madness or crime. It further allows for the development of experts in "wildness" who will teach us to "connect" to the "wild symbiotic whole."

But the "wild symbiotic whole" is no more a door to liberating my wildness than is "god." In fact, by raising "nature" from a concept that may at times be useful in discourse to a monolith of the highest value, Wolf has created a way of recuperating would-be wild rebels and keeping them domesticated. By taking wildness from individuals and giving it to this monolith, nature, wildness ceases to be the free-spiritedness of those who refuse to be domesticated and instead becomes submission to this new god "nature" (or the "wild symbiotic whole"). A new type of sin develops—being "unnatural," not being ecologically active enough,...and with it guilt. To hold someone "responsible" for something means to find them guilty if they do not live up to the imposed responsibility—so Wolf's attempt to evade his own guilt-tripping is just word-play. Wolf needs to recognize that he like most civilized folks confronted by what's wild has found a method to rationalize it, to make its chaos orderly and palatable. His attempts to impose his rationalizations on others are arrogant and insulting. Contrary to what he thinks, he does not hold the patent on wildness.

I see wildness as a trait of individual beings. Individual wild beings and the ways they relate are chaotic, ever-changing, beyond definition—and that is precisely their beauty and wonder. Any attempt to rationalize them, to create a monolithic interpretation of them, an alleged unity whose "purpose" can be surmised is a falsification. Wolf may have gone into the woods, but he hasn't seen a thing that wasn't filtered through the lens of his ideology, and he's no more wild than any would-be prophet.

With a roar and a pounce,
Feral Faun, Canada



Collage by Freddie Baer

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